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Dedicated by Permission to Her Majesty the Queen

LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND

DOCUMENTS

CONNECTED WITH

HER PERSONAL HISTORY.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

WITH

3555'

AN INTRODUCTION,

BY AGNES STRICKLAND,

AUTHOR OF

THE "LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ILLUSTRATION.

Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, copied by permission from the original painting at Hampton Court. *Frontispiece.*

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 20, third line of Summary, instead of *Duke* read *Earl of Bedford.*

Page 103, instead of *castor* read *casket.*

VOL. II.

Page 15, dele *Castelnau.*

Summary, p. 49, dele *Earl of Marr.*

INTRODUCTION.

BY AGNES STRICKLAND.

Of all the forgotten treasures of the past, which the unwearied research of antiquaries of the present age has succeeded in bringing to light, royal letters are the most interesting, and calculated to render the greatest service to the cause of truth.

What evidence, indeed, can afford so fair a test of the moral qualities and intellectual powers of persons who have played a conspicuous part in the arena of public life, as that which has been furnished by their own pens?

The inedited letters of Mary Queen of Scots, collected by the Russian prince, Alexander Labanoff, from the manuscripts in the royal library and national archives at Paris, are among the most valuable of the recent contributions to historical literature. A faithful translation of every paper of the slightest interest in that collection is presented to the English reader in these volumes,

blended with a copious selection of Mary's intermediate letters, arranged with such careful attention to dates as to fill up the chasms which appear between those in Prince Labanoff's book, and forming a complete and almost autobiographic history of the latter years of what she truly calls "her troublous pilgrimage."

It may appear remarkable that so considerable a portion of the private confidential correspondence of one whose actions and character have been so closely investigated, and so widely discussed, should have remained unpublished and almost unknown. The wonder ceases, however, when it is remembered that a large proportion of her letters went abroad and remained there. Those to her ambassador at Paris, the Archbishop of Glasgow, are in the Bethune Collection; and those which she addressed to foreign princes and their ministers have been locked up in the archives of their families and in other continental repositories. At the time of the French revolution some of the royal autographs were purloined from the archives of the kingdom, and were even carried to Warsaw and St. Petersburgh, where they are preserved in the Imperial Library.

That portion of Mary's correspondence which is to be found in the British Museum and in other accessible sources in this country, is only intelligible

to persons skilled in the mysteries of documentary lore. Mary wrote habitually in French — the French of the sixteenth century: her handwriting is often difficult to decipher, as she herself notices, with pathetic apologies for its badness, sometimes on account of severe inflammation in her eyes; and, at others, because of the tears which marked her paper by falling upon it as she wrote. See her letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, vol. i., p. 214. Besides these too visible evidences of the royal writer's sufferings of mind and body, which have, in some instances, obliterated words and confused sentences, her orthography is such as to require a particular study even to copy it, much more to understand it. Such of her letters as have been printed are either in the original French or in the obsolete language, in which contemporary translated copies were made of some of those addressed to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, and though biographical use has been made of them by the historians both of her life and reign, and that of Elizabeth, they remain, to all but the few, a sealed book.

Much of the correspondence in these volumes is new to the public: and that which is not absolutely so is now, for the first time, presented in a collective form, and in language comprehensible to the general reader.

With the letters of Queen Mary are interspersed others that were addressed to her; likewise several of the reports of the French ambassadors which tend to elucidate mysterious passages in the life of Queen Elizabeth. These are all arranged with careful reference to dates, and linked together by Prince Labanoff's minute and faithful chronology of Mary Stuart's eventful career. This chronology, which, in the French edition of the Labanoff collection prefaced the letters, has been judiciously divided by the translator of these volumes, so as to enable readers, not intimately acquainted with the annals of Mary Queen of Scots, to understand the letters and documents for which we are indebted to the research of the illustrious northern antiquary, as well as those which are derived from other sources.

The epistolary talents of Mary Queen of Scots, though acknowledged to be of a very superior order, have scarcely been, as yet, rated at their full value. No one, however, who is capable of appreciating the beauty and simplicity of her style, and the eloquence of her expressions, can deny that her letters very far surpass those of her most accomplished contemporaries—not even excepting those of Bacon and Sir Philip Sydney. It is a positive refreshment to turn from the laborious, pedantic, and mystified compositions of Queen

Elizabeth to the easy, unaffected, perspicuous letters of Mary Stuart. The great charm of these consists first in the purity and piety of the sentiments she expresses; and next, that they carry a direct conviction to the heart that they are the genuine transcripts of the royal writer's mind, bearing, as they do, evidences of the various passions by which that mind was agitated at the passing moment, whether grief, indignation, tenderness, or devotion, was the prevailing feeling.

The first letter in this collection is the earliest that has been discovered of those by Mary Stuart. It was copied by Prince Labanoff from the original autograph in the Bethune Collection, and was evidently written soon after her marriage with the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. It is addressed to the Constable Montmorency, whom she playfully styles "*Mon Compère*," a title of familiarity from which the Scotch endearment of *cummer* is probably derived; at any rate, it bears the same signification, and might have been rendered "my good friend and gossip." The letter relates to a claim made by the son of M. de Secondat to an estate belonging to Mary, which had been secured to her by her marriage articles. She was then about seventeen. She makes a childish attempt at diplomacy, by begging the constable to acquaint her royal father, Henry II., that the reason she wanted

the money was, that she might be able to entertain him in a house arranged in the way that he had recommended to her. The suit that was then commenced by Secondat for the disputed property continued to harass and impoverish Mary for many years of her life, as we find by her letters from Tutbury and Sheffield.

The fourth letter, vol. i., p. 6, is one of peculiar interest; it is written by Mary to Philip II. of Spain, in reply to his letter of condolence on the death of her first husband, Francis II., and bears witness to the passionate manner in which that youthful monarch was lamented by the disconsolate widow of eighteen, who styles herself "the most afflicted poor woman under heaven." This touching letter must have been written very early in the year 1561. The next, which is addressed to the constable Montmorency, is dated from Edinburgh the 8th day of October, 1561, and commences the series of her letters from Scotland, of which these volumes contain ten, besides one from her husband, Henry Darnley, to the Cardinal Guise, her uncle, announcing the birth of their son James I.

The unhappy differences which had begun to alienate the hearts of the royal pair are, by no means, perceptible in this epistle, which conveys the natural feelings of conjugal and paternal joy at

an event calculated to cement the close tie by which the writer was united to the royal mother and the new-born heir of Scotland.

The next paper, containing the instructions given to M. de Mauvissière on his appointment to convey the congratulation of his sovereign to Queen Mary on the birth of her son, betrays the fact that the Court of France was well aware how deeply Darnley had incurred the displeasure of his consort, for the ambassador is enjoined not to deliver any letters of congratulation to him without first ascertaining the pleasure of that lady. This important document, which contains also some account of the pecuniary difficulties of Mary's government, was copied by Prince Labanoff from the collection de Brienne.

Notwithstanding the stern restraint in which Mary was kept, when a prisoner at Lochleven Castle, she found means, while there, to write several letters. The first of these, which is addressed to her faithful subject the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at the court of France, will be found in this work (page 38). It is deeply interesting, but very brief. She assures him that "she has neither time nor paper to write more, unless to entreat the king, the queen, and her uncles, to burn her letters." This request was, however, disregarded.

Through the inestimable kindness of my beloved friend, Miss Jane Porter, who, last winter, made some valuable transcripts for me from the royal autograph collection in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburgh, I am fortunately enabled to enrich this introduction with one of that precious and almost inaccessible series of the inedited letters of Mary, Queen of Scots. It is addressed to her royal mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, and written by Mary's own agitated hand, and dated "De ma prison" (Lochleven Castle), 1st Mai, 1568.

"Madame,[a]

"I send to you by this bearer, and by the same opportunity I write to the king, your son. He (the bearer) will tell you more at length; for so closely am I watched that I have no leisure but while they dine or when they sleep, when I rise (*i. e.* to write by stealth), for their girls sleep with me — this bearer will tell you all. I implore you to credit him, and to recompense him, even as I would myself.

"I pray that both of you (*viz.* King Charles IX. and Queen Catherine) will have pity on me; for, if

[a] Dubrowski Collection, No 31.

This is a faithful translation of Miss Porter's transcript from the autograph letter which is in French. A passage in this letter is alluded to in the Appendix, vol. ii., p. 292.

you do not take me by force, I shall never go from hence, of that I am sure; but, if you will please to send troops, all the Scotch will revolt against Mora and Mirton [Murray and Morton,] if they have but the means of gathering themselves together.

"I entreat you will give belief to this bearer, and hold me in your good graces, and pray to God that—"

Here the letter of the fair majesty of Scotland was abruptly concluded; perhaps some sigh or sleeping motion of one of the maidens, from whose side she had stolen to write it, made her extinguish her taper and return to bed; or perhaps the letter was cut short by a signal connected with her projected flight, for it is dated on the eve of her successful escape from Lochleven. She had previously made an abortive attempt to leave the castle in the disguise of the washerwoman who came to take away her linen, on which occasion her real quality was betrayed by the beauty and delicacy of the hand she raised to draw the hood and muffler closer to her face, and she was carried back. A full and very interesting detail of this adventure is given in the Appendix.

If Sir Walter Scott had been so fortunate as to have seen some of the letters in those volumes which have been subsequently brought to light, he would have been able to improve the story of his

fine historical romance of the Abbot in no slight degree, by a closer adherence to facts. George Douglas, who cuts so conspicuous a figure in that tale, was a gallant gentleman, about Mary's own age. He generously made the arrangement for her escape, but, on the failure of the first abortive attempt, fled, leaving a second more successful enterprize for her deliverance to be achieved by his orphan cousin, William, a boy of sixteen, who was known in the castle by the name of the little Douglas. This youth remained faithfully attached to Mary's adverse fortunes till her death; he received a pension from her, and is occasionally mentioned with great tenderness in her letters as "her orphan." In her will she calls him "Volly Douglas;" the letter W was evidently treated by Mary after the foreign fashion.

George Douglas was one of her most active paladins, and we find from her letters that he was constantly employed on perilous offices; such as conveying letters between the captive queen and her friends on the continent. She ever retained the most grateful sense of the services he had rendered her, and she endeavoured by every means in her power to advance his fortunes, and to promote his marriage with a young lady in France, to whom he became much attached. Finding that the poverty of George Douglas was the only obstacle,

she generously tried to obviate it by the promise of a considerable pecuniary grant out of her own lender and embarrassed finances.

"I desire you," writes she to the Archbishop of Glasgow,[b] "to hasten the affair of Douglas, for I should be sorry to have it laid to my charge that so important a service as that which he has rendered to me should be ill rewarded—such services are not performed every day." In another letter to the archbishop,[c] she observes, "George tells me he cannot conclude the marriage he has so long contemplated with La Verrière, without being assured of the grant I made him;" and goes on to entreat the archbishop to take the management of the affair into his own hands, and to arrange for the payment of five-and-twenty thousand francs, which she had promised George, in any way that might be most satisfactory to the lady and her friends, even though to secure this sum he should be obliged to settle on disadvantageous terms the lawsuit which he had been for several years conducting for her in the French courts of law.

"Although," continues she, "I must make a sacrifice to settle it, yet must I give him what I have promised; endeavour, therefore, to get me out of this a debt which the service he has rendered imposes on me." She concludes the subject

[b] Vol. i., p. 118. [c] Vol. i., p. 132.

by saying, "I recommend to you the management of his matrimonial and other affairs."

How different is this truly queenly and maternal care to secure the wedded happiness of her young follower, from the anger and jealous ill-will manifested by Elizabeth, when any of her favourites presumed to enter into the holy pale of wedlock! Let the reader compare the conduct of the two queens on this point, and judge which is the most indicative of the feelings of a virtuous and noble-minded woman.

The letters written by Mary to Elizabeth, on her first arrival in England, are better known than any other portion of the work, several of them having been printed in Sir Henry Ellis's Letters in illustration of English History, but they are not the less interesting on that account, and are of infinite importance when read in chronological connexion with those that precede and follow them in this collection. Very touching records they are of the alternations in the royal fugitive's mind during that momentous period of trembling hope, doubt, misgiving, alarm, and agonizing suspense in which she remained after her removal from Workinton to Carlisle, and discovered that she was not to be considered by Elizabeth as a sister-sovereign and a guest, but treated as a prisoner and a culprit.

After her transfer to Bolton, her style becomes

colder and more reserved, and at times an indignant rising of her spirit breaks forth, with here and there a sarcastic flash of keen wit, but then anon she yields once more to woman's weakness, and condescends to supplicate the inexorable arbitress of her fate for sympathy and mercy.

Her letter to Elizabeth, of the 1st of September, 1568, vol. i., p. 76, is a most touching and eloquent appeal to the compassion of that queen. On the same day she writes to Sir Francis Knollys, and her letter to him is the first she attempted in English. The original is in vol. i., p. 78, and is a curious mixture of Lowland Scotch with the now obsolete English of that era. When rendered intelligible by a modern version, it is, like all Mary's epistolary compositions, very *naïve* and pretty; and, above all, it betrays her determination of fascinating the grim commander of the north-west border, by her endeavour to propitiate him, not only in his own person, but by means of his better half, Lady Knollys.

The letter poor Mary took the trouble of writing to this stern soldier runs as follows, when rendered into plain orthography:

The Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys.[a]

"Master Knollys,

"I have some news from Scotland. I send you the *double* [copy] of them I writ to the queen

[a] See the original, vol. i., p. 78.

[Elizabeth] my good sister, and *pres* [pray] you to do the like, conform[able] to that I spake [of] yesternight unto you, and send hasty answer.

"I refer all to your discretion, and will *lissne* [lean or rely] better on your good dealing for me than I can persuade you, namely, in this language. Excuse my evil writing, for I never used it before, and am *hesiet* [hurried]. Ye shall see my bill [letter of news], which is open; it is said, on Saturday, my un*friends* [enemies] will be with you. I say nothing, but trust well.

"An' you send any [one] to your wife, ye may assure her she would be welcome to a poor stranger, who, not well acquainted with her, will not be over bold to write, but for the acquaintance betwixt us. [*That is between Queen Mary and Sir Francis Knollys.*] I will send you a little token [*some jewel or ring*] to remember you of the good hope I have in you; and, if ye find a meet messenger, I would wish ye bestowed it on her [Lady Knollys] rather than any other.

"Thus, after my commendations, I pray God have you in his keeping.

"Your assured good friend,

"MARIE R.

"Excuse my evil writing this first time.

"Bolton, Sept. 1, 1568."

Though nothing could be more hard and uncourteous than the conduct of Knollys to the captive queen (see his letters in the Appendix, vol. ii., pp. 295-8), yet it is certain, from Mary's letter to Elizabeth, of October 8, 1568, that the latter had conceived a jealous displeasure on the subject of their intercourse, and that one of their conversations had been misrepresented, for Mary, after protesting "that, if Elizabeth herself had heard what passed between her and Master Knollys, she could not have taken it amiss," observes somewhat indignantly, in allusion to the notes that had been taken of what she had said, "that she did not expect to be copied."

Mary's letter to her beloved sister-in-law, the Queen of Spain (vol. i., p. 84), with whom she had been educated, is a most interesting document, giving a brief and confidential account of her escape from Scotland, and the restraint to which she was subjected in her compulsory sojourn in the realm of her good sister, the Queen of England. This letter contains some tender allusions to their early friendship; it overflows with zeal for the Catholic religion, and testifies Mary's earnest wish to see the ancient faith restored throughout the whole island. Mary expresses, too, a fond wish that a marriage might take place between her son and one of the daughters of this queen by Philip II. It is

doubtful whether her loving letter ever reached the royal friend to whom so many endearing expressions are addressed, for it is dated 24th of September, 1568, and Elizabeth of France departed this life on the 3rd of October following.[e] Mary, in a letter to Don Francis de Alava (vol. i., p. 94-5), passionately laments her death, and also in one to the royal widower, at p. 95.

The loss of her early friend evidently tended in no slight manner to depress the spirits of the Queen of Scots, during the painful period when the investigation of her conduct by the English and Scotch commissioners was proceeding, first at York, and afterwards at Westminster. The assertions of Murray touching the proofs of her connivance in the murder of her husband, Henry, Lord Darnley, which her enemies professed to have discovered in a silver casket, in the form of papers, letters, and sonnets, in her own handwriting; the refusal of Elizabeth to allow her the opportunity of justifying herself by appearing before the commissioners, and cross-questioning the adverse witnesses; the cold, cruel letter of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 105, and the breaking up of the conferences by that queen, followed each other in ago-

[e] This amiable and beautiful Queen of Spain, whom Schiller has taken for the heroine of his Don Carlos, was the sister of Mary's first husband, Francis II.

nizing succession. Mary's temperate and mild letter of remonstrance to Elizabeth, p. 107, is the last of those written from Bolton, where she was in the comparatively gentle keeping of the Lady Scrope, the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, whose romantic courtship of the captive queen commenced during that period. It was undoubtedly the discovery of their correspondence which induced Elizabeth to remove Mary to Tutbury, where she was placed under the harsh surveillance of the treacherous and unfeeling Countess of Shrewsbury, and her time-serving husband. A sadder and more painful interest darkens over Mary's letters from that period. The pangs of hope deferred, combined with the baleful effect of the noxious air and other discomforts of her abode, began to produce sickness of body as well as of mind.

In her letter to Elizabeth, of the 10th of November, 1569, she makes her first complaint of indisposition, p. 116; and, from that time, it is piteous to trace the progressive sufferings which indicate the breaking up of her naturally fine constitution. May 13th, 1570, she speaks of her own sickness, and that of her servants, and requests the Archbishop of Glasgow to send her a physician from France. She dates her epistle from Sheffield Castle, where she appears to have been under very stern restraint. She had at that time two secret candi-

dates for her hand—Don John of Austria, and the Duke of Norfolk—but had, fatally for him, decided in favour of the latter. Norfolk was the near kinsman of Elizabeth, whose grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Howard, was the sister of his grandfather.

From a memorandum by the Queen of Scots in this collection, vol. i., p. 121, partly written in cypher, we find that the suit of Norfolk was approved by the court of France, though he was a Protestant: that of Don John was advocated by the King of Spain and the Pope. This memorandum is followed by several of Mary's pretty confidential letters to her faithful servant, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and to other of her friends in France; but in none of those does she allude to the matrimonial negociations that were on the tapis.

In vol. i., p. 162, the reader is presented with a curious statement, explanatory of the lawsuits and other vexations with which Mary was harassed with regard to her dowry in France, and the property which she derived from her mother. She complains bitterly to her chancellor, Duvergier, of the fraudulent manner in which she had been treated, of the dishonesty and imposition of the lawyers employed in her behalf, and points out the shameless discrepancies in the accounts that had been submitted to

her. Even her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had taken advantage of her entire helplessness to do many things prejudicial to her interest in a pecuniary way; but of this Mary speaks in sorrow rather than in anger, adding, "that for the reverence she bears him, she will not find fault."

No one can read her statements of the mismanagement of her affairs, the expenses, perplexities, and annoyances in which she was involved, without feelings of compassion. This curious and highly-interesting paper is dated April, 1574. Her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, p. 182, written nine days afterwards, on the same subject, indicates that her patience was on the wane. It is doubtful whether that of Job would have stood the test of entering into such schedules as had recently been submitted to the royal prisoner at Sheffield, during the indisposition of her secretary, which compelled her to take the whole labour of the business upon herself. Some of her remarks are very *naïve*, and occasionally shrewd and sarcastic. On the whole, it is surprising to observe how clear and intelligent a view she takes of matters which, from their complicated nature, must have been perplexing to any lady, much more to a queen, who had been accustomed to have proper officers to arrange her accounts.

After the transient cloud of her displeasure

passes away, she enters very earnestly with the archbishop into the cause of her vexation at the deficiencies in her revenues from France, namely, her desire that the wages of her servants should be punctually paid. Her anxiety that their services to her should be properly rewarded is truly conscientious (see p. 189.) Gratitude and benevolence are leading traits in the character of Mary Stuart; and, when the sources of her queenly munificence are circumscribed, she laments it not on her own account, but for the sake of those to whom she was accustomed to dispense her bounty, and endeavours to assist them by means of her personal influence.

"I recommend to you," she writes to the archbishop, "my two orphans, Annibal[f] and William Douglas, as you would wish me to do for those in whom you are interested." At the time of writing this letter, Mary was under some apprehensions that there was a design of poisoning her, and she requests that a bit of fine unicorn's horn may be sent her, as she is in great need of it;" that being considered a repellant of any deadly drug that might be infused into drink. It was usual for a piece of this substance to be inserted in the golden drinking cups of kings and queens.

[f] Annibal Stonard, a youth of French parentage. He is mentioned in Mary's will, and assisted at her obsequies.

Mary's next letters are of a more cheerful character; she had been to the baths at Buxton, and the benefit her health and spirits had derived from the change of air and scene is very perceptible in the tone of her correspondence — vol. i., p. 195. She requests the Archbishop of Glasgow to procure for her some turtledoves and Barbary fowls, and also some red partridges, with instructions how to manage them. "I shall take great pleasure," she says, "in rearing them in cages, as I do all sorts of little birds I can meet with. This will be amusement for a prisoner."

There is this attractive feature in all the letters of Mary Queen of Scots—they are full of domestic traits, and the natural feelings of her heart. Trifles from her pen assume a grace, and delight us, because of the unaffected simplicity with which she writes. Then, too, it is impossible to forbear smiling at the feminine earnestness with which, in the midst of all her troubles and bitter mortifications, she requests grave ambassadors and learned ecclesiastics to procure for her patterns of dresses, silks the handsomest and rarest that are worn at Paris; new fashions of head-dresses from Italy, and veils and ribbons of gold and silver (see vol. i., p. 198-9). Again, at p. 209, she says, "If M. the Cardinal de Guise, my uncle, is gone to Lyons, I am sure he will send me a couple

of pretty little dogs; and you must buy me two more, for, besides writing and work, I take pleasure only in all the little animals that I can get. You must send them in baskets, that they may be kept very warm."

One of the most beautiful letters in this collection occurs vol. i., p. 113; it is written by the unfortunate queen to the Archbishop of Glasgow, on the death of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and affords a touching example of Christian resignation under the most poignant affliction. "Though," says she, "I cannot, at the first moment, command my feelings, or restrain the tears that will flow, yet my long adversity has taught me to hope for consolation for all my afflictions in a better life."

The letters which Mary Stuart wrote in prison, in sickness and in sorrow, contain, indeed, abundant evidences that, in the midst of all the trials that were laid upon her, her heart was at peace with God, and reposing itself in the sure refuge of a Saviour's love. The declaration of the Earl of Bothwell, vol. i., p. 218, deserves the reader's particular attention, because the existence of such a document was unknown to the writers who have been most severe towards Mary. As far as the testimony of Bothwell himself goes, it most completely

exonerates her from having the slightest concern in the murder of her second husband. This declaration was made by Bothwell when a prisoner in Denmark, at the castle of Malmoe, and is addressed to the King of Denmark. The original manuscript is in the library of the King of Sweden. According to Sinclair, a copy of this paper was sent by the King of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth, but she suppressed it. Bothwell, before his death, confessed his own share in the murder, which he solemnly protested was perpetrated through the counsels of Murray and Morton, and that the queen was wholly innocent of it, having no knowledge of their intention. This confession was not only sent to Queen Elizabeth, but brought as evidence against Morton at his trial for the murder of Darnley, therefore it must have been regarded as worthy of credence; and if so for the object of criminating one of the accomplices, why not equally effective for the justification of the person on whom the guilt had been charged by the actual culprits? Bothwell's first declaration was made January 13th, 1568, to which he added a supplement, called his second declaration; his last confession was made in the presence of the Bishop of Sconen and four of the Danish lords, just before he breathed his last, in the year 1576.

There are no allusions to her third widowhood

in any of Queen Mary's letters; and she seems, from the moment she was relieved from the terror of Bothwell's presence in Scotland, to have resolved on treating her marriage with him as an absolute nullity—a line of policy, which was probably suggested to her by the examples of her grandmother, Margaret Tudor, and her uncle, Henry VIII., but in her case far more excusable, as she owed neither duty nor allegiance to her seducer.

The first of three very interesting letters from Mary to her uncle, Cardinal Louis de Guise, dated from Sheffield, occurs vol. i., p. 264. In the second of these, she tells him "that all her letters" (meaning, of course, all that she had recently written) "had passed through the hands of Walsingham, excepting one or two, to the King of France, the queen-mother, and her cousin of Guise, which contain only kind recommendations to her ambassador, and to her friends and relations, with requests for the prayers of her grandmother, who does not make much disturbance in the world." [g]

In this letter she notices her distress for money,

[g] This venerable lady, Antoinette de Bourbon, widow of Charles de Lorraine, the first Duke de Guise, was the mother of the consort of James V. of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, Duchess Dowager of Longueville, whom she survived many years. She lived to witness the troubles of her royal grand-daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, who appears to have been much attached to her, and makes frequent mention of her in the letters published in these volumes.

and "that she and her servants shall be very badly off that Lent if some is not sent."—P. 268.

The third, p. 269, bears testimony to her increased indisposition, and the difficulty she experienced in writing. In her next letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, she requests him to send her another physician, "one who is not a deceiver."—P. 273. She writes to him again, August 10, 1579, from Buxton, p. 275, and alludes to a severe fall she had had in mounting her horse. The Earl of Shrewsbury was the person through whose carelessness the accident occurred, and he mentions the injury the unfortunate queen received, with unwonted sympathy, in one of his letters printed in Lodge's "Illustrations."

Her letters to Mauvissière, the French ambassador, in the years 1581-2, evince the natural depression of spirits caused by increasing illness, and the painful restraints of her captivity at Sheffield. That to Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 294, was written when her agitation, on hearing a false rumour (perhaps purposely conveyed to her) that the traitorous attempt of the Lord of Gowry to seize the person of her son had been successful, occasioned so dangerous a fit of sickness, that her life was despaired of by the English physicians who reported her case to their queen. The last energies of sinking nature appear summoned by Mary while penning this elo-

quent appeal to the conscience of Elizabeth, whom she upbraids with the treachery of her conduct towards her in stirring up troubles against her in Scotland, and the breach of faith of which she had been guilty in making her a prisoner when, with a blind confidence in her professions and promises, she came to throw herself upon her protection.

She reproaches her with the cruelty of her treatment, telling her that she had destroyed her body by it, "so that nothing is left of me," she says, "but the soul, which, with all your power, you cannot make captive." Mary then pathetically entreats that liberty may be accorded to her to pursue the means she judged needful for her salvation, "especially that she may have the consolation of some honest churchman of her own faith to prepare her for the change that awaits her." She also requests that she may have two bed-chamber women to attend upon her during her sickness. She reminds Elizabeth of the nearness of their consanguinity, and implores her to desist from fomenting the troubles in her son's dominions, and asks her what advantage and honour she can hope to derive from keeping her and her son apart; and, in conclusion, expresses a fervent desire "that a general reconciliation may be effected before she dies, that her soul, when released from her body, may not be constrained to make its lamentations to God for the

wrongs with which Elizabeth had caused her to be afflicted on earth. This touching letter is dated at "Sheffield, Nov. 8, 1582," and signed

"Your very disconsolate nearest kinswoman,
"and affectionate cousin,
"MARY R."

The second volume opens with the translation of a curious state document from the Labanoff collection, of which a copy is also preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

It is one of the reports of the French ambassador, M. Mauvissière, to Henry III., detailing his diplomatic conversations with Queen Elizabeth on the line of policy she was adopting with regard to France, and the subject of Mary, Queen of Scots, "whose name," he observes, "appears to give her great vexation." This is followed by a letter from Mary to Mauvissière, on the liberation of her son, p. 12. At p. 16, and p. 26, the reader is again presented with the reports of Mauvissière to his sovereign, in which will be found amusing details of his interviews with Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1583. It is one of the characteristic features of Mauvissière's correspondence, that he never omits an opportunity of reminding his needy sovereign of the sums in which he was indebted to him, and soliciting for a reimbursement, not forgetting to represent to his majesty the superior generosity of

the kings of Spain and Scotland, and even the parsimonious Queen of England, to their representatives in foreign courts.

The letter from Mary to Mauvissière, p. 40, among other matters, notices a report touching a marriage between herself and Philip II. of Spain, which seems to cause her some surprise. She tells the ambassador "that she commits all her secret despatches to his care, and that he is to charge the expenses he may incur in forwarding them in his accounts against her, under the head of gold and silver thread (p. 45) for her embroidery. It was in this pursuit that the royal captive passed all the time she was not employed in writing, or confined to her bed with the agonizing attacks of rheumatic gout, so often alluded to in her letters, under the now obsolete name of "defluxions." In the present age, the bodily sufferings which had been caused by distress of mind, combined with cold and want of exercise, would have been termed neuralgia.

It is impossible to read without the deepest compassion the letter, p. 78, in which she details to Mauvissière and his successor, Chateauneuf, the sufferings she endured in the damp, dilapidated apartments in which she was confined after her return to Tutbury Castle. These she describes with sarcastic bitterness; and, after alluding to the systematic barbarity with which all her wishes

were opposed, and ever had been, she says, "The Countess of Shrewsbury assured me that the right way to cause anything whatever to be denied me, was to signify that it would be particularly agreeable to me, and then I must never expect to have it."

Her next letter is dated from Chartley Castle, in Staffordshire, Mauvissière having obtained as a parting boon from Elizabeth that the Queen Dowager of France, the kinswoman of his sovereign, should be removed from the detested prison of Tutbury, to a better air. The change was beneficial to the royal sufferer. She writes to Mauvissière, p. 93, "Since the commencement of February, I have suffered greatly from defluxions, but have kept mending since the departure of Cherelles, so that only this defluxion of my right arm is now left; it is an inheritance acquired by seventeen years imprisonment, which I fear will never end but with my life. Meanwhile, I pray God to grant me the necessary patience." This is dated the last day of March, 1586.

Three very curious letters to Don Bernard de Mendoça, the Spanish Ambassador at the Court of France, which follow these, were copied by Prince Labanoff, from the archives of Simanca, and are translated from his collection printed in Paris, 1839. They throw considerable light on the intrigues that were used to implicate Mary in the Babing-

ton plot. The last, dated August 2nd, was written just six days before Sir Amyas Paulet removed the reluctant queen to Tixal, and took possession of her jewels and papers.

A farewell letter, p. 106, is addressed by Mary to Mendoça, from Fotheringay Castle, after Lord Buckhurst and Beal had announced to her that sentence of death had been pronounced against her; this is, perhaps, the most interesting of all she has written. "Yesterday," she says, "they took down my canopy, saying 'that I was no more than a dead woman, and without any rank.' They are at present working in my hall—erecting the scaffold, I suppose, whereon I am to perform the last act of this tragedy." But not so promptly was the *coup-de-grace* to be dealt to the royal victim, who was doomed to take a lengthened draught of the bitterness of death during the three gloomy months which intervened between the publication of her sentence and its execution. Her letter to Mendoça, dated November 23d, 1586, was written under the impression that she would be summoned to the scaffold in a few hours. She bequeaths to him a precious legacy in these words, p. 109. "You will receive from me, as a token of my remembrance, a diamond, which I have held very dear, having been given to me by the late Duke of Norfolk, as a pledge of his troth, and I have always worn it as such. Keep it for my sake."

In this letter Mary mentions the conditional bequest which, in her enthusiastic zeal for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland, she had made of her dominions to Philip II. of Spain. Her tender consideration for her poor servants, and the earnestness with which she recommends them to the care and protection of her friends, are more in accordance with the general tenor of Mary's feelings than the foolish notion that she was rendering a service to persons of her own religion by an attempt to alienate the inheritance of her realm from its rightful possessor, and that possessor her only son, in favour of a foreign monarch, whose bigotry and cruelty had alienated the hearts of a large portion of his natural subjects.

Her adieu to her cousin, the Duke de Guise, p. 111, is the last letter in this collection, and it yields to none in touching interest, beauty of sentiment, and eloquence of expression. It is characteristic of the feelings of a queenly heroine, who considers that she is about to exchange her earthly diadem for the crown of martyrdom, and fondly deems the sufferings that have been heaped upon her, and the trials and indignities through which she has yet to pass, will render her palm the brighter. "And though," continues she, "executioner never yet dipped his hand in our blood, be not ashamed, my friend, for the judgment of these

heretics and enemies of the church, who have no jurisdiction over me, a free queen, is profitable before God to the children of his church, which, had I not adhered to, this stroke had been spared me." It was natural that Mary, in the excited state of feeling under which these letters were penned, should have derived consolation from this idea; but, even if she had been disposed to embrace the protestant faith, it would have availed her nothing; for, like her cousin, Lady Jane Gray, she may be regarded not as a religious, but a political victim.

The letters are followed by state papers of great importance, namely, the reports of the French Ambassadors to Henry III. of France; of the proceedings of Queen Elizabeth and her council against the unfortunate queen of Scots, with some account of the process which was called her trial at Fotheringay Castle, and the intercession that was made by the Court of France to avert her fate. There is also a copy of the celebrated death warrant, touching which Queen Elizabeth played her subtle game with her unlucky secretary, Davison.

The Will of Mary Stuart, together with her last requests to the King of France, her brother-in-law, will be found p. 142, and p. 149. At page 151, the tragic particulars of her execution are

recorded with graphic minuteness in a letter from Richard Wigmore to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh. Some additional details are contained in the despatches of Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, to his sovereign, p. 176-9, with minutes of Queen Elizabeth's behaviour and conversation during his interviews with her, p. 203-9.

There are, in this volume, two accounts of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots. The first, p. 219, is translated from a contemporary record supposed to have been written by one of the surviving members of her household; the other, which has been published in the first volume of the Archæologia, is evidently a transcript from a herald's journal, in one of the books of royal funerals in the college of arms.

In the Appendix, at the end of volume ii. will be found a series of extracts from contemporary letters, state papers, and other authentic sources, illustrative of the most remarkable scenes in the life of Mary Stuart, from the period of her return to Scotland, including the ceremonial of her marriage with Darnley, and the murder of Rizzio, as related by the English ambassadors, and afterwards in a letter from the queen herself, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in which it is to be observed that she does not in any way accuse her husband

of embruing his hands in the blood of her secretary, but charges the guilt wholly upon Ruthven and the rebel lords, p. 273-7. There are also the narratives of her imprisonment at Lochleven Castle, and her escape to fulfil her dark destiny, after eighteen years of dolorous captivity in England; with contemporary details of her demeanour during her sojourn at Carlisle, and of her transfer from one stern fortress and pitiless castellan to another, each more cruel than the last, till her mangled form was consigned to the gloomy vault in Peterborough Cathedral, near the remains of another victim of a Tudor sovereign, the broken-hearted Katherine of Arragon, whence it was finally removed by her son, James I., and given royal sepulture in Westminster Abbey, in close proximity to the sumptuous monument of her destroyer, Queen Elizabeth.

The portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, which forms the frontispiece of this work, was copied from an original painting of that queen in her majesty's collection at Hampton Court. She is there represented in the costume worn by a queen dowager of France, during the period when royal etiquette compelled her to keep her chamber, and to receive all visiters in bed. Hence she was styled *la reine blanche*. But after this absurd compliment to the memory of her deceased lord

had been paid, she assumed the sweeping sable pall worn by other royal widows, and continued to wear it till she had received the bridal ring from the hand of her second husband, and pronounced her nuptial vows to him; for we find that her nobles and officers of state used a little gentle force to disrobe their fair sovereign of her widow's weeds, when she retired to her chamber of presence, after her marriage with Darnley had been solemnized in the chapel of Holyrood palace.

LETTERS

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

In order to enable the reader the better to appreciate the circumstances under which the following letters were written, it has been thought desirable to lay before him, in chronological succession, a brief recapitulation of the principal events in the life of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

of the principal Events in the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.[a]

1542. *December* 5. Birth of Mary Stuart, daughter of James V., King of Scotland, and Mary de Guise, Dowager Duchess of Longueville.

December 13. James V. dies, and is succeeded by Mary Stuart, aged eight days.

December 22. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the nearest heir to the queen, is declared Regent of Scotland.

1543. *July* 1. The Regent concludes a treaty with Henry VIII., King of England, by which Mary Stuart is to be sent, when ten years of age, to England, to be afterwards married to Edward, son of that prince.

September 16. Coronation of the Queen of Scotland.

[a] In this abridged chronology, all the dates are according to the old style; thus, as far as the article October 5th, 1582, there must be added ten days to the date specified, to make it according to the new style.

December 3. The Scotch parliament declares null the last treaty made with Henry VIII.

1544. *May* 4. The English troops enter Scotland under the command of the Earl of Hertford, and the war continues for two years.

1546. *June* 7. Scotland is included in the treaty of peace signed between England and France.

1547. *January* 28. Death of Henry VIII. His son, Edward VI., then ten years of age, succeeds him, and the Earl of Hertford, created Duke of Somerset, is appointed Protector of the kingdom.

March 31. Francis I., King of France, dies, and is succeeded by his son, Henry II.

1548. *February*. The Duke of Somerset publishes an address to the people of Scotland, to prove to them the advantages of the projected marriage between Edward VI. and Mary Stuart. At the same time, he sends Lord Grey de Wilton with an army, which takes Haddington, and leaves an English garrison there.

February 8. The Scotch lords assemble at Stirling, decide upon offering Mary Stuart in marriage with the Dauphin of France, and propose that she should be educated at the court of Henry II.

June 16. The French fleet disembark five thousand troops at Leith; d'Esse, who commands them, immediately commences the siege of Haddington, aided by eight thousand Scotch.

July —. M. Dessoles, ambassador of France, obtains the ratification of the projected marriage between Mary Stuart and the Dauphin, son of Henry II., by the three estates of the kingdom of Scotland.

August. Labrosse and Villegaignon, who command the French fleet, receive on board the Queen of Scotland and her mother.

August 13. Mary Stuart disembarks at Brest. She is immediately conducted to Saint Germain en Laye, and affianced to the Dauphin.

1551. *October* 22. Her mother, Mary, Dowager Queen of Scotland, returns to Edinburgh, and assumes the regency.

1553. *July* 6. Edward VI. dies; Mary, his sister, succeeds him, and re-establishes the Catholic religion in England.

1554. *July* 25. Mary, Queen of England, marries Philip, son of the emperor, Charles V.

1556. ——— Charles V. abdicates the throne, and leaves his Spanish dominions to his son, Philip II., and the empire to his brother, Ferdinand I., whom he had caused to be elected King of the Romans.

1558. *April* 4. Mary Stuart assigns at Fontainebleau, to the King of France and to his successors, the kingdom of Scotland, and all her rights to the throne of England, in case of her decease without issue.

April 24. Marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin, who is immediately styled King of Scotland.

November 17. Death of Mary, Queen of England. Her sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, succeeds her.

1559. *January* 15. Elizabeth is crowned at Westminster by the Bishop of Carlisle, with all the rites of the Catholic Church.

March —. The English parliament abolishes the statutes passed under the preceding reign, in favour of the Catholic, and re-establishes the Protestant religion.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.[b]

To my *Compère* Monsieur le Connétable.

My *compère*, I have just heard that the son of Secondat has presented a request to the council, which would prevent the king my husband and myself from having what the king gave to us; and for this reason I now write a few words to you by Roqueroles, who will inform you how our affairs are proceeding, and what it is necessary that you should do for us; as I am certain you will cheerfully do any thing to please the only persons who will not prove ungrateful. I request you, then, my *compère*, to lend a hand, and say to the king that I am trying to get this money for the purpose of entertaining him in a house arranged for him in the way that he recommended to me. He did me the honour, the other evening, without my having al-

[b] The contents of this letter evidently prove that it was written during the lifetime of Henry II., and subsequently to the marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin: that is to say, not earlier than April 1558, nor later than July 1559.

luded to the subject, to inform me that the Queen of Navarre had written to him about it, but that he had not forgotten us. Finding him so well disposed, I am sure that he will give the order. I pray God, my *compère*, that he will give you a good night.

Your good cousin,

MARY.

1559. *July* 10. Henry II. of France dies, and is succeeded by the Dauphin, under the name of Francis II.

1560. *June* 14. The Queen Dowager of Scotland dies at Edinburgh.

July 5. Signature of the treaty of Edinburgh, by which the ambassadors of Francis II. and of Mary Stuart acknowledge that the crowns of England and Ireland belong, by right, to Elizabeth, and that their respective sovereigns ought no longer to assume the title of sovereigns of those countries.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.[c]

To my Cousin, the Constable.

My cousin, I thank you heartily for the kindness you have had, to inform me of your successful and useful enterprise. You may be assured you could not have addressed yourself to one who would have rejoiced more at the news, and praised the Lord for it, as well as for the health you enjoy. I hope, from

[c] It seems probable that this letter, the precise date of which is not specified, relates to some advantage gained by the Constable over the Hugonots or Protestants, driven into insurrection by the cruel persecutions of the court. In this case, it must have been written in 1560, and affords an early indication of that extravagant zeal for the Catholic religion, which contributed not a little to Mary's premature end.

your good conduct, and the sincere prayers which are daily put up for you, that what you undertake will succeed. This I will pray the Lord; and may he grant that you may always walk in his grace, without forgetting, my cousin, to recommend myself very earnestly to yours!

Your very good cousin,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to Philip II.[d]

To Monsieur my good Brother, the King of Spain.

Monsieur my good brother, I cannot tell you how glad I was to see that you kindly remembered to let me hear of you by the Signor Don Antonio, as also to hear the many flattering things which he said to me in your name, and to receive the polite letters you wrote me by him, so that I do not know how I can sufficiently thank you; and likewise for the regret you have manifested on the death of the late queen, my mother. I feel so highly obliged, that there is nothing in the world I so ardently desire as an opportunity of showing how much I wish to be employed in rendering any service that may be agreeable to you; assuring you that I shall not complain of any trouble it may cost me: which having already begged Signor Don Antonio to say

[d] This letter must have been written in 1560, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother to Mary, having died the 11th of June in that year.

to you more amply in my name, I will not detain you any longer, except to present to you my kind commendations to your favour, praying God to give you, Monsieur my good brother, good health and long life. Your good sister,

MARY.

1560. *December* 5. Francis II. dies, and is succeeded by his brother, Charles IX., aged ten years. The government devolves on his mother, Catherine de Medicis.

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.[e]

To the King of Spain, Monsieur my good Brother.

Monsieur my good brother, I was unwilling to omit this opportunity of writing to you, to thank you for the polite letters you sent me by Signor Don Antonio, and for the civil things which he and your ambassador said to me concerning the sorrow you felt for the death of the late king, my lord, assuring you, monsieur my good brother, that you have lost in him the best brother you ever had, and that you have comforted by your letters the most afflicted poor woman under heaven, God having bereft me of all that I loved and held dear on earth; and left me no other consolation whatever but when I see those who deplore his fate and my too great misfortune. God will assist me, if he pleases, to bear what comes from him with patience; as I

[e] As Mary became a widow on the 5th December, 1560, it is probable that this letter was written at the commencement of 1561.

confess that, without his aid, I should find so great a calamity too insupportable for my strength and my little virtue. But, knowing that it is not reasonable you should be annoyed by my letters, which can only be filled with this melancholy subject, I will conclude, after beseeching you to be a good brother to me in my affliction, and to continue me in your favour, to which I affectionately commend myself: praying God to give you, monsieur my good brother, as much happiness as I wish you.

Your very good sister and cousin,

MARY.

1561. Mary Stuart, on becoming a widow, quits the court, to pass the winter at Rheims with her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The Earl of Bedford, Mewtas, and Throgmorton, English envoys, warmly solicit Mary Stuart to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, but she always answers (Jan. 5, Feb. 19, April 13, June 23) that she could not do it without the consent of her Council.

M. d'Oysel asks permission for Mary Stuart to pass through England on her way to Scotland, but Elizabeth angrily refuses.

August 15. Mary sets sail from Calais, accompanied by three of her uncles, and several French and Scotch nobles, among whom were Brantôme and Castelnau de Mauvissière.

August 19. She disembarks at Leith, having escaped the vessels of Queen Elizabeth, which, however, took one of her galleys. Having made a short stay at the abbey of Lislebourg, she proceeds to Edinburgh.

Mary appoints James Murray (her natural brother), and Maitland her prime ministers. An epistolary correspondence is opened between her and the Queen of England.

October 1. The English ministers again insist on the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, particularly of the 6th Article, which forbids the Queen of Scotland to bear the arms and titles of England.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.

My cousin, Monsieur de Dampville,[f] being about to return, I would not fail informing you, not only of the great pleasure I experienced in his good and agreeable company, but to say that I am well assured you will feel gratified by the attention he has shown me; and to thank you for that for which I shall always consider myself obliged to you both. Although I have not the least doubt of your adhering to the promise you made me, of always being my sincere friend, I cannot help reminding you of it, and begging you to believe that, whenever it is in my power, you will not have a better friend than myself. I pray God, my good cousin, to grant all you most desire. Written at Edinbourgh the 8th day of October 1561.

My cousin, I am certain that Monsieur de Dampville will so amply inform you of all that concerns us, that I need only beg you to continue the same good will that you have always borne towards me, and that you bear towards those who belong to me; assuring you that we shall do the same towards you and towards your son, with whom, I am sure, you

[f] Henry de Montmorency, Seigneur de Damville, and Marshal of France, was son of the Constable de Montmorency, and accompanied Mary to Scotland when she returned thither in August 1561.

will not be displeased for the trouble he has taken for me.

Your very good cousin and friend,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Constable de Montmorency.

To my Cousin, Monsieur le Connestable.

My cousin, from the letter which you wrote me, and which was brought me by Monsieur Du Cros[8] on his return, I was extremely pleased to hear of the kind remembrance and the good-will you bear me, and which I never fully knew until now. I beg you to believe that you will never find any one who is more sincerely your friend, or more thankful for the service you have rendered. But of this you will be more amply assured by Monsieur de Dampville, whom, on leaving, I begged to give you every information. I shall therefore conclude this letter, praying the Creator to grant you, my cousin, a long and happy life. Written at Edinburgh this 10th day of November, 1561.

Your good cousin,

MARY.

My *compère*, with your permission, I kiss the hand of Madame la Connestable, requesting both of you to keep me in your good graces, which I believe myself to possess at present, as well as all those

[8] Du Crocq, French ambassador at the court of Scotland.

who belong to me, for which I thank God, and beg of him to favour all your good undertakings.

1562. *January* 5. Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, declaring that this would be a renunciation of her birthright.

May —. An interview is proposed between the two queens, which is to take place at York at the end of August. Mary Stuart eagerly accepts the proposal, but, six weeks before the time fixed, Elizabeth makes numerous excuses for declining the meeting.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Gonor.[h]

August 10th, 1562.

Monsieur de Gonor, having been informed by the Sr. de Puiguillon, who paid me a visit for the purpose of giving me an account of my affairs, that he had not yet received the remainder of my dowry, notwithstanding all the diligence he had used, nor even been indemnified for the law expenses incurred, I cannot but feel greatly astonished at this; having always promised myself so much from your good-will towards me, that I am sure it is not your fault. I know that you can greatly assist me, and I beg of you to lend a hand, with the assurance that any service you may render, in this or any other affair, will not be done for an ungrateful princess, whenever I have the means to acknowledge it, as I have charged the said Sieur de Puiguillon to tell to you more fully, and beg you to believe him as you would

[h] Arthur de Cossé, Seigneur de Gonnor, at that period superintendent of finances, and subsequently marshal of France: he was the brother of Marshal Cossé de Brissac.

myself. I pray God, Monsieur de Gonor, to have you in his holy keeping. Written at Edinburgh the xth day of August, 1562.

Your very good friend,

MARY R.

1563. *August.* The Cardinal of Lorraine proposes the Archduke Charles of Austria as a husband for Mary Stuart.

1564. *February* 20. Randolph, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, urges the Queen of Scotland to give her hand to Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards created Earl of Leicester.

March 30. Mary Stuart replies that it is beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject; Randolph, nevertheless, renews his negotiations for this purpose.

Castelnau de Mauvissière visits Scotland, to prevail on Mary Stuart to marry the Duke of Anjou, but by the advice of her council she refuses, as also all other foreign suitors for her hand, namely, the Archduke Charles of Austria, the Prince of Condé, and the Dukes of Ferrara, Orleans, and Nemours.

April 14. The Countess of Lennox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII., solicits the hand of the Queen of Scotland for her son, Lord Henry Darnley.

July 5. Elizabeth warmly opposes this marriage. She, however, grants the Earl of Lennox and his son permission to go to Edinburgh.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

To the Archbishop of Glascow, my Ambassador in France.[1]

From Lislebourg, 11th October, 1564.

Monsieur de Glascow, when I despatched the bearer of this, I thought to send off soon after-

[1] James Beathon, or Bethun, the last Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, fled from Scotland when the Catholic religion fell into disrepute, and retired to France, where he acted as ambassador for Mary and her son James VI., for the period of forty years. He died in Paris in 1603, at the age of 86.

wards Clanrenault, fully informed of every thing; but having made an harangue to me, from which I perceived that his abilities were not such as I supposed them to be, I have not yet determined whether I shall forward my despatch by him, or by some other person: do not mention this to any one. I shall send you a circumstantial account of all the news: do you the same; you cannot do me a greater favour. I shall tell you nothing more than that Randolph is come, bringing me the most polite letters possible from the Queen of England. I will tell you all about this more amply hereafter; for the present, this must suffice. I pray God to give you, with health, a long and happy life.

Your very sincere friend and mistress,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Lislebourg, 2nd November, 1564.

Monsieur de Glascow, the bearer of this has begged so earnestly to be taken into my service, that, without considering his youth, as I had before done, I would not let him set out without this short letter, in which I shall not give you much news, referring to that which I have commanded him to say relative to the appointments of the Duke[j], and of the Earl of Lennox, for the doing of

[j] The Earl of Arran, created Duc de Chatellerault by the King of France.

which the more easily, it was necessary that this duke should resign to you the provostship of Glasgow, agreeably to the promise which he made you. I assured him that you would assent either to my disposing of it, or reserving it for you, being certain that, at my request, and for my service, you would at any time give it back to the said Earl of Lennox, as the bearer will tell you; also about the return of Melvil, whom I sent to the queen, my good sister, with an apology for some letters which I had written to her, and which she considered rather rude; but she took the interpretation which he put upon them in good part, and has since sent to me Randolph, who is here at present, and has brought me some very kind and polite letters, written by her own hand, containing fair words, and some complaints that the queen [k] and her ambassador, ... had assured her that I had published in mockery proposals which she had made me to marry Lord Robert.[l] I cannot imagine that any of those over there could wish to embroil me so much with her, since I have neither spoken to any body, nor written respecting this proposal, not even to the queen, who, I am sure, would not have borne such testimony against me; but I have thought of writing about it to M. de

[k] Catherine, Queen of France.

[l] Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester.

Foix and to Baptiste. In the mean time, if you hear any thing, talk to him on his return from England: let me know, but do not mention a word about what I am writing to you to any one whatever.

For the rest, I shall hold the parliament on the 5th of next month, for the sole purpose of reinstating the Earl of Lennox in his possessions, and afterwards I shall not fail to despatch to you a gentleman, who will acquaint you with all that has occurred, more at length than I can inform you at present. Meanwhile, I beg you to answer the letters I wrote to you by Rolland, and give me a circumstantial account of all the news where you are. I conclude at present, recommending myself heartily to you, and praying God to give you his grace.

Your very kind mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

January 28, 1565.

Monsieur de Glascow, I send the bearer more for a blind, than for any matter of importance, expressly to set people guessing what it can be about. Pretend to be greatly annoyed by the delay of this letter, and, if possible, cause the English ambassador to suppose that it relates to something of great consequence. Lose no time in going to the

queen, and soliciting an audience; and, under the cloak of my pension, about which you will talk to her, invent some subjects that will occupy her attention for a considerable time, purposely to make them imagine that this despatch contains something very important..... will give you intelligence concerning my affairs: you will know to what account this information may be turned; and next day speak to her again if you can, and write to M. the Cardinal,[m] as if in great haste; but take no notice of any thing, beyond forwarding my letters, so that he may receive news of me, and send me, as soon as you possibly can, one of your people with all the news you are able to obtain. I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1565. *February* 5. Darnley arrives at the court of Scotland; the queen is much pleased with him.

April 18. Mary Stuart decides upon marrying her cousin Darnley, and announces her intention to Elizabeth.

May 15. Nicholas Throgmorton is sent to the court of Scotland, to prevail upon Mary to change her resolution; at the same time, Elizabeth arrests the Countess of Lennox, and summons her husband and son to return to England upon pain of confiscation.

June —. Murray, the Dukes of Chatellerault and of Argyle, assured of Elizabeth's protection, form a plot to prevent this marriage, and to place Murray at the head of the government.

July 3. The conspirators endeavour to seize the queen near to the church of Beith, on the road between Perth and Callendar;

[m] The Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle.

but, having had information of the conspiracy, she escapes them by passing much earlier than was expected.

July 29. Mary Stuart, having received the approbation of the King and Queen of France, is married to Darnley, in the chapel of Holyrood House, and orders him to be addressed by the title of King during her life.

August 19. Tamworth, sent by Elizabeth to remonstrate on this subject, is confined in the Castle of Dunbar, for having entered Scotland without a passport.

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.

To the King of Spain, Monsieur my good Brother.

Monsieur my good brother, the interest which you have always taken in the maintenance and support of our Catholic religion, induced me some time since to solicit your favour and assistance, as I foresaw what has now taken place in the kingdom, and which tends to the utter ruin of the Catholics, and to the establishment of those unfortunate errors, which, were I and the king my husband[n] to oppose, we should be in danger of losing our crown, as well as all pretensions we may have elsewhere, unless we are aided by one of the great princes of Christendom.

Having duly considered this, as likewise the constancy you have displayed in your kingdoms, and with what firmness you have supported, more than any other prince, those who have depended on your favour, we have determined upon addressing ourselves to you, in preference to any

[n] Henry Darnley.

other, to solicit your advice, and to strengthen ourselves with your aid and support. To obtain this, we have despatched to you this English gentleman, a Catholic and a faithful servant of the king my husband and of myself, with ample directions to give you an account of the state of our affairs, which he is well acquainted with; and we beg you to believe him as you would do ourselves, and to send him back as soon as possible; for occasions are so urgent, that it is of importance both for the crown, and the liberty of the church; to maintain which, we will risk our lives and our kingdom, provided we are assured of your assistance and advice.

After kissing your hands, I pray God to give you, monsieur my good brother, every prosperity and felicity. From Glasgow, this x of September.

Your very good sister,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Lislebourg, 1st October, 1565.

Monsieur de Glascow, I am greatly astonished; for a very long time I have received no tidings from you, not even by Mauvissières, who calls himself ambassador from the king. I beg you will let me hear oftener from you. As for any news here, you must know that Mauvissières was com-

missioned to treat preliminarily between me and the queen, my neighbour. This I willingly agree to; but, as to treating with my subjects, having conducted themselves as they have done, I had rather lose all.

Now, I am sure you must have heard enough upon this subject from your brother, and since from Chalmer: and there is nothing of very recent occurrence, but that they are getting worse and worse, and are now at Dumfries, where they have resolved to stay until I leave this place, which will be to-morrow, and then they will go, as I am informed, to Annan, which they purpose to defend against me with the aid of three hundred English arquebusiers of the garrison of England: and they boast that they shall receive more succours, both by sea and land, so as to be able to make head against our army, which is to set out to-morrow, or the next day at the latest, and with which the king and I intend to go in person, hoping that, the time of the proclamation having expired, we shall retire and give them time to wait for the army of the queen of England, which is to be ready next spring. Urge the queen as often as you can, and by all the means in your power, to send us men and money in this emergency, and then write forthwith what I have to hope for; and beware, above all things, of exciting the jealousy of a certain per-

son whom you know, and with whom you must privately use the like persuasions. Something was known at court about your dealings with Bay....

I shall write you more fully on the first opportunity; but, above all, keep a good look-out, and see if my rebels hold any secret communication over there with the Protestants, or Chatillon; and if the Duke and the Earl of Murrey have any agent about the queen, whom you may assure that they have full liberty of conscience, and that this is not the motive which influences them, nor the public welfare; for I have made no changes in the order of things to which they have themselves consented; and if they were not at the council, it has been because I never could get them to come to it after my marriage, except a few, who, after taking part against them, subsequently went over to their side, which they now begin to repent of, and among others the duke and Gudo . . . who have sent me word to that effect.

Yesterday Dromleveriel and Lowener sent to me to beg pardon, saying they would serve us, assuring me they had forsaken them, finding their intentions so different from what they represented. The traitor Maxwell is deeply ashamed of having so basely broken his faith to me; he does not appear disposed to send his son to England as an hostage, not having forgotten how his last was treated; this

he sent me word himself. In short, when England perceives that we have ever so little succour to hope for, they will draw back, I should think, from seeing those people so disheartened. You will see the memorandum which I have given to the bearer, of what he is to say to the king, instead of instructions. Tell me how he acquits himself of his commission, for I assure you he is more English than Scotch. Here I conclude, praying God to grant you a happy and a long life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1565. *October.* Mary Stuart, at the head of eighteen thousand men, drives the conspirators from Dumfries, and compels them to seek protection in England from the Duke of Bedford, who has advanced as far as Carlisle, to support them in case of their succeeding.

October 7. Murray, who had fled to London, is received at the court of Elizabeth.

1566. *February.* Darnley, regardless of what he owes to the love of the queen, gives himself up to all sorts of excesses, and overwhelms her with humiliations and unworthy treatment.

March 9. Morton seizes the gates of the palace, and David Riccio, secretary to Mary, is seized in her presence, and murdered by Lord Ruthven, Douglas, Ballantyne, and Kerr, whom Darnley had introduced into the chamber of the queen, then in the seventh month of her pregnancy.

March 10. Darnley dissolves the parliament on his own authority, and leagues himself with Murray, who had rejoined the conspirators.

March 12. Mary regains her ascendency over Darnley, and takes refuge with him in the castle of Dunbar. She there assembles eight thousand men, and marches upon Edinburgh, while the murderers of Riccio flee to Berwick.

June 19. She is delivered of a son, afterwards James VI., at the castle of Edinburgh.

King Henry Darnley to Monsieur the Cardinal de Guise.

From the Castle of Edinburgh, this 19th day of June, 1566, in great haste.

Sir, my uncle, having so favourable an opportunity of writing to you by this gentleman, who is on the point of setting off, I would not omit to inform you that the queen, my wife, has just been delivered of a son, which circumstance, I am sure, will not cause you less joy than ourselves; and also to inform you how, on this occasion, I have, on my part, as the queen, my said wife, has also on hers, written to the king, begging him to be pleased to oblige and honour us by standing sponsor for him, by which means he will increase the debt of gratitude I owe him for all his favours to me, for which I shall always be ready to make every return in my power.

So, having nothing more agreeable to inform you of at present, I conclude, praying God, monsieur my uncle, to have you always in His holy and worthy keeping.

Your very humble and very obd^{t}. nephew,

HENRY R.

Please to present my commendations to madame the Dowager de Guise.

1566. *July* 11. Castelnau de Mauvissière is despatched by Charles IX. of France, to compliment Mary Stuart on the birth of her son.

Instructions given to the S^r. de Mauvissière[o] on a mission from the King of France to Scotland.

The S^r. de Mauvissière, whom the king is now sending to Scotland, will, on passing through England, wait upon the S^r. de la Forest, his ambassador, and accompany him, to present to the queen of the aforesaid England the letters which their majesties have written to her; and say that, having sent him to Scotland, it is their wish that, in passing through the kingdom, he should wait upon her, and present, in their names, their most affectionate respects, from the desire they have not to omit towards her any thing that mutual friendship demands; and which their majesties wish not only to perpetuate, but to augment by all the means possible, as well as by every act of kindness. And, at the same time, the said Sieur de Mauvissière will assure the said lady, that the perfect friendship the king bears her is so strong and so sincere, that all the concerns and affairs of the said lady interest him as much as his own, and that he ardently desires to prove the sincerity of his affection rather by deeds than by words.

That the reason for which he is going to Scotland is to congratulate, in the name of their majes-

[o] Michel Castelnau Seigneur de Mauvissière was frequently employed in diplomatic missions, and was in 1575 appointed French ambassador in London, which post he held for six years.

ties, the said queen of the aforesaid Scotland on her happy delivery, and that God has given her a son, which news was very agreeable to them, as they also presume that it will have given the greatest joy to the said lady.

That his stay will be so short, that, if it please the said lady, to commission him to say any thing on her part to the Queen of Scotland, he will deliver the message faithfully, and bring her an answer in a few days.

Having performed the above duty to the said Queen of England, he will see the duke [earl] of Leicester, and say to him that their majesties continuing to entertain for him the same good-will they have always hitherto done, it is their wish that S^r. de la Forest should assist him in every way he can in regard to his marriage, and to make such offers as he will repeat, of which the duke will judge if they can be useful to him, or in any way facilitate and promote the conclusion of it; and that, if it be agreeable to him to make known his intentions to the said S^r. de la Forest, or the Sieur de Trochmortin,[p] De Guillerey, or any other whom he may think proper, he will find that they will proceed more expeditiously than the Sieur de Foix, his predecessor; having been commanded so to do by their majesties, who desire that the Sieur

[p] Throckmorton.

de la Forest will inform them of this in his own name, and contract the closest private familiarity with the said Sieur de Trochmortin, Guillerey, or any other whom the duke may choose to employ, to procure him information, and assist him in the prosecution of his undertaking in such manner as the said duke may intimate that he has occasion for. That the said Sieur de Mauvissière, on arriving in Scotland, shall first visit the queen of that kingdom, and after delivering to her the letters of their majesties and their affectionate remembrances, he is to congratulate her on her happy delivery, and its having pleased God to give her a son, assuring her their majesties received the news with the greatest joy, and will be still happier to learn that the mother and infant are as well as can be desired.

Besides, he has letters to the king, her husband, to express the like congratulation to him, but also with the express command not to do any thing in this matter but what the said lady shall think fit, and to use such language to him as she may deem proper and order.

That he has also letters of introduction to different gentlemen of that country; that, if the said lady considers it serviceable to her that he should hold any language to them on the part of their majesties, he must do so; being, when all is said, expressly commanded to do nothing but by her advice, and

conduct himself, in all respects, as may be for the interest of her affairs, according as she may direct him.

And if, inasmuch as the said Sieur de Mauvissière says he thinks the said Queen of Scotland will ask what assurance he brings her of the assistance she is to expect from the king in her affairs, in men or money, if the said lady should speak to him on this subject, he is to reply as follows:—.

That monsieur the Cardinal of Lorraine, having acquainted their majesties that the said lady had need of money, and seeing that, from the state of his finances, he could not spare any of his own, had begged their majesties to furnish him with the sixty thousand livres which were due of his pension, and which their said majesties would have done most willingly; but there not being sufficient ready money in the hands of the treasurer to furnish him with the said sum, the said treasurer had rendered himself responsible in his own private name towards those from whom the said Sieur the Cardinal should obtain the said sum, which their majesties think that he would not fail to remit to the said lady, knowing she had need of it. And the said lady must not doubt, that if his majesty had had as much money at his command as good will to assist the said lady, she would always find his purse open and at her service.

As to sending succours in men, their majesties

have been informed, from various sources, that the affairs of her kingdom are at present in such a state of peace and tranquillity as not to require it, and that she, to whom God has given so fine and promising an heir, is so much revered and obeyed, that they think her most important object will be to reconcile her subjects to each other, if there yet remains any enmity among them on account of the past, and to preserve peace and tranquillity in her dominions; and for this reason they have not thought it necessary to give any instructions on this head to the Sieur de Mauvissière. But, if things are otherwise, which they cannot believe, and the said lady is really in need of succours, she will intimate as much, if she pleases, to the Sieur de Mauvissière, that on his return he may be able to report the same to their said majesties, who will always do, in favour and for the assistance of the said lady, whatever she can promise herself and expect from princes, who are her best and most sincere friends in this world.

His majesty is much gratified by the favour which the said lady has done him, by having chosen him as one of the sponsors; and, being desirous of gratifying and obliging her to the utmost of his power, begs her to inform him which of the princes of his kingdom or other seigneurs will be most agreeable to her to hold her son at the holy font of baptism in his name; as the one whom she may name and

select, his majesty will immediately despatch on receiving from her this information.

1566. *October* 8. The Queen and the Lords of Council repair to Jedburgh, to hold a Court of Justice. She is there taken dangerously ill.

October 17. She is at the point of death. A favourable crisis ensues.

October 28. It is not until this day that Darnley goes to see her. He leaves her again on the morrow.

November 18. She is at Dunbar, where she writes to the Council of England on the subject of her rights and those of her son.

November 26. The Queen goes to the Castle of Craigmillar. Here Murray, Maitland, Huntly, Argyle, and Bothwell entreat her to divorce Darnley. She will not listen to them.

November —. Unable to prevail upon her to change her resolution, they decide upon the death of Darnley, and Balfour writes an engagement to that effect, which he signs, together with Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyle.

December 16. Baptism of James, son of the Queen of Scotland. The Duke of Bedford attends on the part of England, and the Count de Brienne and M. Ducrocq for France. Darnley absents himself from this ceremony, because Elizabeth has forbidden her ambassador to give him the title of King.

December 24. Mary Stuart pardons the Earl of Morton and his accomplices.

1567. *January* 4. Darnley is taken ill of the small-pox at Glasgow, whither he had retired. The Queen soon goes to join him, and a reconciliation takes place.

January 20. Bothwell and Maitland go to Wittingham, near the hills of Lammer-Moor, to meet Morton, and to confer anew on the means of getting rid of Darnley.

January 31. The Queen brings back her husband to Edinburgh, and he is lodged in a house outside the walls, called the Kirk of Field.

February —. The conspirators fill the different cellars of that house with gunpowder.

February 9. Mary Stuart leaves Darnley at eleven o'clock at night to attend a ball given on the marriage of Sebastiani and Mar-

garet Carwood, her servants; and returns, a little after twelve, to Holyrood House.

February 10. At two o'clock in the morning, the house of Kirk of Field is destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, and the body of Darnley is found in the garden, with that of Taylor, his favourite page.

February 12. Mary Stuart issues a proclamation, offering a reward to those who shall furnish such information as will lead to the discovery of the murderers.

February 15. Murray, who had quitted the Court on the evening of the murder, upon pretext of visiting his wife, returns and takes his place in the Council.

February —. Bothwell is generally accused of being the murderer of the King; and several anonymous placards, posted in the night, give the names of the accomplices.

February 20. The Queen convokes a Parliament to bring to trial the supposed murderers.

March 24. The Earl of Lennox, father of Darnley, formally accuses Bothwell, and the 12th of April is fixed upon for his trial.

April 11. The Earl of Lennox, intimidated by the minions of Bothwell, proposes the adjournment of the trial, and does not go to Edinburgh.

April 12. The Court of Justice, at which the Duke of Argyle presides, paying no attention to the request of the Earl of Lennox, refuses to adjourn the trial, and declares Bothwell innocent. Murray is again absent.

April 14. Mary Stuart restores to Huntly his confiscated estates, and confirms the donations previously made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others.

April 19. Memorial of the Scotch nobles in behalf of Bothwell, praying the Queen to marry him.

Copy of the Bond given to the Erle Bothuile, wherein is conteyned Consent to the Queen's Marriage.

We under subscribed, understanding that, although the noble and mightie Lord James Erle

Bothuile, Lord Haillis, Chreichton, and Liddesdale, great Admirall of Scotland and Lieutenant to our Soueraigne Ladie over all the Marches therof, being not only bruited and calumniated by placardes prively affixt on the publique places of the church of Ed^g^. and otherwise slaundered by his evill willers and privy enemies, as act and pte of the heynous murther. of the King the Queen's Ma^ties^ late husband, but also by special lres sent to her highness by the Erle of Lenox delated of the same cryme, who in his lres earnestly craved and desired the said Erle of Bothuile to be tryed of the said murther, he be condigne inquest and assise of certen noblemen his peeres and other Barons of good reputacon is found innocent and guitles of the said odious cryme obiected to him and acquitted conforme to the lawes of this Realme, who also for further triall of his p^te^ hath offered him ready to defend and meynteyne his innocence contrar all that will impugne the same by the lawes of armes and hath omitted for the pfitt triall of his accusation, that any nobleman in honour or by the lawes ought to accomplish. And we, considering the anciētie and noblenes of his house, the honourable and good service done by his predecessors, and specially himself, to our Soueraigne and for the defence of her highnes realme against the enemies thereof, and the amity and affection which hath so long ex-

isted betwixt his house and every one of us and our predecessors, and herewithall seeing howe all noblemen being in reputacon honour and credite with their Soveraigne are comonly subject to susteyne as well the uane brutes of the inconstant people as the accusacons and calumnies of their aduersaries . . . of their places and . . . which wee of dutie and friendship are . . . . . to represse and withstand. Therefore oblige us, and each one of us uppon oun honour, faith and troth in our bodies, as we are noble men and well culd answer to . . ., that in case hereafter any manner of persons in whatsoever manner shall insist further to the slaunder and calumniacon of the said Erle of Bothuile as participant acte and parte of the said heynous murther, whereof ordinary iustice hath acquitted him, and for the which he hath offered to his devoir by the hand armes in manner aboue . . . and one of us by our selves, our kin, frendes, servants, assisters, and partakers, and all that will doe for us, shall take true auful place and upright parte with him to the defence and mayntenance of his quarrel, with bodies heritages and goodes, against his privie and publique calumnyators by past or to come, or any others presuming any thing in worde or deede to his reproche, dishonour, or infamie. In moreover weighing and considering the time and present and howe the Queen's Ma^tie our Soueraigne is now des-

titute of husband, in which solitary state the common weale of this our native country may not permit her highnes always to remain and indure, but at sometime her highnes in appearance may be inclined to yield to the marriage; therefore, in case the . . . affectionate and faithful service of the said Erle done to her Ma^tie from time to time and his other good qualities and behaviour may move her Ma^tie safer to humble herself (as prefering one of her own borne subiects unto all forein princes) to take to husbund the said Erle B. and every one us of under subscribed uppon our honours truthe and fidelite oblige us and permit not only advance and forthward the said marriage to be solemnised complete betwixt her highnes and the said noble Lord with our wittes counsayle fortificacon and assistance in worde and deede at suche times as it shall please her Ma^tie to thinke it convenient and how soon the lawes shall leave it to be done. But in case any would presume, directly or indirectly, openly or under whatsoever colour or pretence, to hinder hold back or disturb the said marriage, We shall in that behalf esteeme hold and repute the hinderers and disturbers and adversaries thereof as comon enemies and evill willers, and, notwithstanding the same, take part and fortifie the said Erle to the said marriage as far as it please our said Soveraigne Ladie to allow, and therein shall . . and be-

stow our lives and goodes against all that live or die only. As we shall answer to God and uppon our honour and fidelitie, and in case we doe the contrary never to have reputacion honestie nor credit in our time hereafter, but be accompted unworthie faytheles Traytours. In witnes of the which we have subscribed these particulars with our handes as followeth. At Edr the xix of Aprile the year of our God 1567 yeares.

To this the Queene gave her consent the night before the marriage took place, which was the viii day of May the yeare of our God foresaid in this —.

The Queene's Matie, having seen and considered the bond aboue written, promised in the name of a Prince that she uows her successors shall never impute as cryme nor offence to any of the persons subscribed thereof their submycon or consent given to the matter conteyned therein. Nor that they nor there heires shall never be called or . therefore Nor yet shall the said consent or subscribing be any derogacon or spott to their honour or they . . . undutiful subiects for doing thereof, notwithstanding whatsoever thing may . . or be alledged on the contrary. In witnes whereof her Matie hath subscribed the same with her own hand.

The names of such of the Nobility as subscribed the Bond, so far as Iohn Read might remember, of

whom I had this Copy being his own hand: Beeing commonly termed in Scotland Aynsters Supper

The Erles of	Lords
Murray	Boyd
Argile	Seyton
Huntley	Sinclair
Cassiles	Semple
Morton	Oliphant
Sutherland	Oglivy
Rothis	Rosse
Glencaren	Herris
Cathnesse	Hume
	Eumermeth
	Eglintoun subscribd not but slipped away.

1567. *April* 21. Mary goes to Stirling to see her son.

April 24. On her way back she is seized by Bothwell, near Foulbriggs, and carried to Dunbar, of which place she had given him the command a short time previously. She is detained there for ten days, and then returns with him to Edinburgh.

May—. Divorce of Bothwell from Jane Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly; declared, at the same time, in the consistory and the archiepiscopal Court.

Promise of Marriage given by Mary to Bothwell.

We, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, &c., promise faithfully, sincerely, and without constraint, James Hepburn, Earl of Boduil, never to have any other spouse and husband but him, and to take him for such when-

ever he shall require, in spite of the opposition of relation, friend, or any others; and as God has taken my late husband, Henry Stewart, called Darnley, and in consequence I am free, not being under the authority of either father or mother; I, therefore, protest that he, having the same liberty, I shall be ready to perform the ceremony requisite for marriage, which I promise him before God, whom I call to witness, and the subjoined signature by my hand, written this * * *[q]

MARY R.

1567. *May* 12. Bothwell accompanies Mary Stuart to the Tolbooth, where, in the presence of the lords of sessions, she pardons him for the violence he had recently done her.

May 14. The queen ratifies, in writing, the act of the Scotch nobles in favour of Bothwell.

May 15. Marriage of Mary Stuart with Bothwell. The ceremony takes place at Holyrood House.

June 11. Morton and others form a plan to seize Bothwell; the latter having been apprized of it, retires, with the queen, to Dunbar.

June 12. The lords of the Privy Council issue a proclamation against Bothwell.

June 15. Bothwell leaves Dunbar, and meets his adversaries near Carberry Hill; but the greater part of his friends forsake him, and he betakes himself to flight.

The same day the queen treats with Kirkaldy, of Grange, and surrenders herself to him. She is then brought back to Edinburgh, and is kept prisoner for twenty-two hours at the house of the provost.

[q] Though the date of this document is wanting, it is evident that it must have been written after Bothwell's divorce; and, be it also remembered, after the outrage committed by him on the person of the queen, when he had seized her on her return from Stirling and carried her to Dunbar.

June 16. Act of association of the Scotch nobles to bring Bothwell to trial.

The same day the Earls of Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencairn, and the Lords Ruthven, Hume, Semple, and Lindsay, sign an order for the imprisonment of Mary Stuart.

June 17. Lindsay and Ruthven conduct her to the castle of Lochleven, the residence of William Douglas, half-brother to Murray, and heir to Morton.

June 23. Villeroy, the French Ambassador, in vain solicits permission to see Mary Stuart. Throckmorton refers him to Elizabeth, but with her he is equally unsuccessful.

June 26. Proclamation of the lords of the Privy Council to seize Bothwell, who, until then, had remained at Dunbar.

June 27. Bothwell sails with three vessels without opposition, and directs his course towards the Orkneys.

The Council, on receipt of these tidings, gives some armed vessels to Kirkaldy, who sails in pursuit of Bothwell. He comes up with him, and takes two of his ships.

Bothwell steers for Norway, and is taken by two Danish cruisers. They carry him to Denmark, where he is confined in the castle of Malmoe for the rest of his life.

July 18. The lords of the Privy Council propose to Mary Stuart to disown Bothwell. She refuses, being unwilling to render illegitimate the infant with which she is pregnant.

July 24. The queen is forced to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, and to appoint Murray regent of the kingdom of Scotland.

July 29. Her son crowned by the title of James VI. The French and English ambassadors refuse to attend the ceremony.

August 17. Murray returns from France, whither he had gone at the time when Bothwell obtained his pardon, and visits Mary in prison.

August 22. Murray accepts the regency, and issues a proclamation to that effect.

1568. In *January* or *February* Mary Stuart is delivered, at Lochleven, of a daughter, who is taken to France, and afterwards becomes a nun at Notre-Dame de Soissons.[1]

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[1] Dr. Lingard, having repeated, in his History of England, the statement of the pregnancy of the queen of Scotland, which had been refuted in 1782 by Gilbert Stuart, I have thought it right to adopt the

The Queen of Scots to the Earl of Huntly.

Richt traist cousigne and counsalor. We greet thee well. We haif receavit your letter be the beirar hereof daitit the x of the last moneth and has considerit the same. Notwithstanding that we haif written to you laitlie anent the estait of our affayres as amplie as we now informit thairof. But this present is to shaw you that my Lord Boyd our traist cousigne and counseller (wha arrivit here from the court the xxviith of the said moneth) has declaret to us how our rebelles has done the worst thai could to haif dishonour us (which thankis to God) lyes not in their power, but by their expectations has found themeselfes disappointed of that thai lookt for. Thai procure . . . to seek appoyntment. Bot albeit we be not of sic nature as thaie that forget neuer, nevertheles we shall cause them acknawledge thair selfishnes. And the said queene our good sister and her counsale knaw their false inventions and offences pervertest against us to colour their trahisom and wicked usurpation, swa that it

version of Le Laboureur, a very respectable historian, who makes mention of it in his Addition to the Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. i., p. 610, edit. 1731. Be it recollected that the author whom I quote held a post of confidence at the court of France (he was councillor and almoner to the king), and that he had opportunities of learning many particulars which were long kept secret. Besides, it was easy for him, when he published his work, to examine the register of the convent of Soissons, and to ascertain whether the daughter of Mary Stuart had been a nun there (*Note by Prince Labanoff.*)

shall be manifest to all the world quhat men thai ar, to our honor and contentment of our faithful subjects. For (praysit be God) our frendis increasis and thairs decreasis daylie. ye sall . . . anie lettre be this beirar to be subscryvit by yow and our cousigne the Erle of Argyll, which is maid be my Lord Boydis advyse conforme to the declaration he maid to our traist counsellor the Bishop of Ross, he knawing our deliberatioir and will thereintil. And albeit we knaw their is na need to use ony persuasion towart you . . . . . ye may be driven to that which intill ye can haif nothing but reputation and honor. And seeing it is for your just defence, calomniat be the unfaithfulnes and trahisom if our rebelles, yitt we thought it gud to write unto you this present. Praying you to schaw that the vertues which is in yow and equitie of our cause may not induce our adversaries and you to use sic bragging (which be the faithful report of our commissioners and others that are in the court of England) ye may understand thai mak agains us and you twa amongis the rest of our faithful subiects.

As to our part we ar resolut not to spare theme in setting the veritie to their eyis. And . . . . . (with the grace of God) and equitie of our cause, that all which they haif allegeit agains us shall fynd the same to their oun schame and confusion. We refer to your discretion to cut and pare

the said letter as ye shall think best and extend it in sick forme as ye shall thinke maist necessarie, praying you to send us the same againe subscrivit and sealled the soonest ye maye see an offert. It may be producit togedder with the rest of the accusations which we intend to gif in agains our traitors. Ye shall also ressaif ane copie of the queene our sister's answer to our commissioners supplication, which ye maye consider. Maureover we haif understood that ye are in porpus to change the provost of Elgin, which we wish and protest you not to do, but retorne him who is in the same office alreddy, so long as he remains constant and faithful to us, swa that theire be na other be put in places, as ye will do us pleasure and expect our thanks thiere anent. Referring the rest to the beirar, which ye will creddit, committes yow to the protection of God Almightie, off Bowtun, the 6 of Jannier, 1568-9,

Your richt gud Cousigne
and assured frind,
MARIE R.

1568. *March* 25. George Douglas, brother of William, makes a fruitless attempt to deliver Mary from prison; being unable to succeed, he escapes alone.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From my prison this last day of March (1568.)

Monsieur de Glascow, your brother will inform

you of my miserable situation, and I beg you will present him and his letters, saying all that you can in my behalf. He will tell you the rest, as I have neither paper nor time to write more, unless to entreat the king, the queen, and my uncles, to burn my letters; for should it be known that I have written, it may cost a great many lives, put my own in peril, and cause me to be still more strictly guarded. God preserve you, and give me patience!

Your old very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Being now a prisoner, I request you to direct five hundred crowns to be paid to the bearer for travelling expences, and more, if he has need of it.

1568. *May* 2. Mary contrives to escape from Lochleven by the aid of young Douglas, aged sixteen. Beton, brother to the Bishop of Glasgow, and George Douglas, who had concealed themselves in the environs, conduct her to West-Niddrie, the residence of Lord Seaton.

May 3. She arrives safely at Hamilton Castle, and there revokes her abdication. On this news, the royalists throng around her.

May 12. Murray proclaims all the partisans of the queen traitors.

May 13. Mary leaves Hamilton Castle for Dumbarton, and meets Murray near Langside. The battle being fatal to her party, she flies to Galloway, and thence to the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirkudbright.

May 16. Mary, in spite of the entreaties of all those who accompany her, resolves to go to England. She crosses the Solway Frith in a fishing-boat, and lands at Workington, on the coast of Cumberland.

May 17. The Queen of Scotland writes from Workington to Elizabeth, giving her a statement of her misfortunes, and entreats her to send for her as soon as possible.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I believe you are not ignorant how long certain of my subjects, whom from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the first, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late king my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the country, where, at your request, I again afterwards received them; though, on their return, they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time in a state of pregnancy. It again pleased God that I should save myself from their hands; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favour. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness, have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favoured, subscribed to, and aided in a crime for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have, under this pretence, arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill advised, and pretending a desire of seeing me delivered from bad counsels, in order to point out to me the things that required reformation. I, feeling myself innocent, and de-

sirous to avoid the shedding of blood, placed myself in their hands, wishing to reform what was amiss. They immediately seized and imprisoned me. When I upbraided them with a breach of their promise, and requested to be informed why I was thus treated, they all absented themselves. I demanded to be heard in council, which was refused me. In short, they have kept me without any servants, except two women, a cook, and a surgeon; and they have threatened to kill me, if I did not sign an abdication of my crown, which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have since proved before the whole of the nobility, of which I hope to afford you evidence.

After this, they again laid hold of me in parliament, without saying why, and without hearing me; forbidding, at the same time, every advocate to plead for me, and compelling the rest to acquiesce in their unjust usurpation of my rights; they have robbed me of every thing I had in the world, never permitting me either to write or to speak, in order that I might not contradict their false inventions.

At last, it pleased God to deliver me, when they thought of putting me to death, that they might make more sure of their power, though I repeatedly offered to answer any thing they had to say to me, and to join them in the punishment of those who should be guilty of any crime. In short, it pleased God to deliver me, to the great content of all my

subjects, except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencarne, Mar, and Semple, to whom, after that my whole nobility was come from all parts, I sent to say that, notwithstanding their ingratitude and unjust cruelty employed against me, I was willing to invite them to return to their duty, and to offer them security of their lives and estates, and to hold a parliament for the purpose of reforming every thing. I sent twice. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and made proclamation, declaring traitors all those who should assist me, and guilty of that odious crime. I demanded that they should name one of them, and I would give him up, and begged them, at the same time, to deliver to me such as should be named to them. They seized upon my officer and my proclamation. I sent to demand a safe conduct for my Lord Boyd, in order to treat of an accommodation, not wishing, as far as I might be concerned, for any effusion of blood. They refused, saying that those who had not been true to their regent and to my son, whom they denominate king, should leave me, and put themselves at their disposal, a thing at which the whole nobility were greatly offended.

Seeing, therefore, that they were only a few individuals, and that my nobility were more attached to me than ever, I was in hope that, in course of time, and under your favour, they would be gradually re-

duced; and, seeing that they said they would either retake me or all die, I proceeded toward Dumbarton, passing at the distance of two miles from them, my nobility accompanying me, marching in order of battle between them and me; which they seeing, sallied forth, and came to cut off my way and take me. My people seeing this, and moved by that extreme malice of my enemies, with a view to check their progress, encountered them without order, so that, though they were twice their number, their sudden advance caused them so great a disadvantage, that God permitted them to be discomfited, and several killed and taken; some of them were cruelly killed when taken on their retreat. The pursuit was immediately interrupted, in order to take me on my way to Dumbarton; they stationed people in every direction, either to kill or take me. But God, through his infinite goodness, has preserved me, and I escaped to my Lord Herris's, who, as well as other gentlemen, have come with me into your country, being assured that, hearing the cruelty of my enemies, and how they have treated me, you will, conformably to your kind disposition, and the confidence I have in you, not only receive for the safety of my life, but also aid and assist me in my just quarrel, and I shall solicit other princes to do the same. I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a

pitiable condition, not only for a queen, but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling across the country the first day, and not having since ever ventured to proceed, except in the night, as I hope to declare before you, if it pleases you to have pity, as I trust you will, upon my extreme misfortune; of which I will forbear complaining, in order not to importune you, and pray to God that he may give to you a happy state of health and long life, and to me patience, and that consolation which I expect to receive from you, to whom I present my humble commendations. From Workington, the 17th of May.

Your most faithful and affectionate good
sister, and cousin, and escaped prisoner,
MARY R.

1568. *May* 18. Captain Lowther, lieutenant of the frontiers, conducts her from Cockermouth to Carlisle, with all the honours due to her rank.

Sir Francis Knollis, vice-chamberlain, and Lord Scrope, commander of the frontiers, present letters of condolence to Mary Stuart, in the name of Queen Elizabeth; at the same time, Lady Scrope, sister of the Duke of Norfolk, is appointed to attend upon her.

May 28. Mary again solicits permission to have an interview with the Queen of England. She receives for answer, that she cannot be admitted into her presence, until she has cleared herself from the charge of having participated in the murder of her husband.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I have received two letters from you, the first of which, relating to myself, I hope to answer, and to learn from my Lord Scrop and your vice-chamberlain your natural inclination towards me, which I have always promised myself with certainty, and wish that my affection for you were as apparent as it is sincere, and then you would think your kindness better bestowed than I could persuade you by my humble.....

Madam, I am sorry that the haste in which I wrote my last letter caused me to omit, as I perceive by yours; the principal thing which induced me to write to you, and which is also the principal cause of my coming into this your kingdom, which is that, having for a long time been a prisoner, and, as I have already informed you, being unjustly treated, as well by their acts as by their false reports, I wished above all to come in person to lay my complaint before you, as well on account of our near relationship, equality of rank, and professed friendship, as to clear myself before you from those calumnious charges which they have dared to prefer against my honour, and also for the assurance I had that, above all things, you would consider that, not being punished for the

crimes committed aforetime against me, which, at your request, I forgave these ungrateful subjects, and restored them to their former state, to the detriment and prejudice of mine, whence it is evident, that out of respect to you, I did what has caused my ruin, or at least very near it.....With a view to repair the mischief, and to amend the error that has arisen from it, I have despatched my lord Heris, my faithful and well-beloved subject, to inform you fully of all these things, and others concerning which I learned from Messieurs Scrop and Knowles [Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys] that you are in doubt, requesting you to believe him as myself, and forthwith to let me have your answer in writing, whether it would be agreeable to you if I were to come without delay and without ceremony to you, and tell you more particularly the truth about all that has happened to me, in contradiction to all their lies, which I am sure you would have pleasure to hear, as you were pleased to write to me in your letters, that you would take my justification into your hands, till you had replaced me in the state to which Heaven had pleased to call me, and that all princes are bound to support and assist one another.

I send, on this occasion, my cousin, my lord Flemin, a faithful subject, in order that, being assured by you, he may proceed to France to-

thank the king. Monsieur, my good brother, for his .....and good offices, which I reserve for another time, if I have occasion for them, contenting myself with your aid and support, which I shall feel myself obliged to acknowledge as long as I live, in every way in my power. If, on the contrary, that which I reckon upon does not come from you and from some others, for considerations which I am not aware of, at least I trust that, freely as I came to throw myself into your arms, as my best friend, you will permit me, on your refusal, to seek succour from the other princes and friends my allies, as may seem most convenient to me, without any prejudice to the ancient friendship between us two; and whatever you decide will please you I shall be satisfied with, though one would have been more agreeable to me than the other; for, God be thanked, I have got good friends and neighbours in my so just quarrel; and there is nothing to prevent me from applying to them but this detention, which, to speak freely to you as you do to me, I think rather harsh and strange, considering that I came so frankly into your country without any condition or any distrust of your friendship, promised in your frequent letters; and though I have lived in a manner a prisoner in your castle, for a fortnight since the arrival of your councillors, I have not obtained permission to go

to you to plead my cause, as my confidence in you was such that I asked for nothing more than to go to you to make you acquainted with my grievances.

Now I beseech you to consider how important my long detention is to me, and for the cause of my ruin, which, thank God, is not gaining ground. Signify then to me the consent of your natural affection for your good sister and cousin and firm friend. Remember that I have kept my promise. I send you my.....in a ring, and I have brought you the original, in order to tie the knot more firmly; if you are not disposed to wrong me..... whom you may believe as you would myself. After this long address, I shall not trouble you further than to present my affection and recommendations to your good grace, and to pray God to grant you, madam, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very faithful and.....

Karlil, the xxviii of May, 1568.

Since writing my letter, I have received certain intelligence, that the gentlemen who call themselves regent and governors, have issued their proclamation for coming to take and demolish all the houses of the loyal people, and securing their persons, &c.....to prosecute by violence, for you will interfere and maintain this just quarrel.

The bearer will more fully explain to you the necessity for this, and I.....forget also to thank you for the good reception which I have met with in your country, and especially from the deputy of your warden, Master Loders, who, as far as a servant can do with the express command of his master, has received me with the greatest courtesy, for which I beg you to let him be repaid.....[s].

The Queen of Scots to Sir William Cecil.[t]

Master Cecile, the character which you have of being a friend to equity, and the sincere and faithful service which you render to the queen madam my good sister, and consequently to all those who are of her blood and of like dignity, induce me in

[s] The chasms in this postscript are so frequent, with only three or four intervening words, that a considerable part of it is utterly unintelligible. The Master Loders mentioned in it was Mr. Lowther, a member of the distinguished family since ennobled by the title of Lonsdale. He was deputy-warden of the March in which she landed, who claimed the queen as his prisoner, because she had come into his district without a passport. She was likewise claimed by the Earl of Northumberland, as lord warden, who went to Carlisle to demand her delivery; and on the refusal of Lowther, the haughty noble called him varlet, and said that he was too low a man to pretend to such a charge. A letter from the deputy-warden to Cecil states, that the gentlemen and sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been very remiss in their duty, and that very few of them had come forward on the queen's arrival, although he had warned the country "by beacon."

[t] The most celebrated of the ministers of Queen Elizabeth, afterwards created Earl of Burghley.

my just cause to address myself to you above all others in this time of my trouble, to obtain the benefit of your good counsel, which I have commanded my lord Hereis, the bearer of this, to explain to you at length. So referring to him, after commending myself to your wife and you, I will pray God to have you in his holy keeping. From Karlile this xxviii[u]

Your very good friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I thank you for the disposition which you have to listen to the justification of my honour, which ought to be a matter of importance to all princes, and especially to you, as I have the honour to be so near of kin to you. But it seems to me, that those who persuade you that my reception would turn to your dishonour manifest the contrary. But alas, madam, when did you ever hear a prince censured for listening in person to the grievances of those who complain that they have been falsely accused. Dismiss, madam, from your mind, the idea that I came hither to save my life; neither the world nor all Scotland has cast me out; but to recover my

[u] The month is wanting; it must have been either May or June, 1568.

honour, and to obtain support to enable me to chastise my false accusers, not to answer them as their equal, for I know that they ought not to enter into engagements against their sovereign, but to accuse them before you, that I have chosen you from among all other princes, as my nearest kinswoman and perfect friend, doing as if I supposed it an honour to be called the queen-restorer, who hoped to receive this kindness from you, giving you the honour and the glory all my life, making you also thoroughly acquainted with my innocence, and how falsely I have been led.

I see, to my great regret, that I am mistaken. You say that you are counselled by persons of high rank to be guarded in this affair. God forbid that I should be cause of dishonour to you, when it was my intention to seek the contrary! Wherefore, if you please, as my affairs require such great haste, let me see if the other princes will act in the same manner, and then you cannot be blamed. Permit me to seek those who will support me without any apprehension of that sort, and take what security you will of me when I shall afterwards place myself again in your hands. Though I think you would not desire that, when replaced on my throne, my honour restored, and all foreigners out of the country, I shall come to plead my cause before you, and to justify myself

for the sake of my honour and of the friendship which I bear you, and not for the satisfaction I should have in answering false subjects; or even sending for me without giving credit, as it seems you do, to those who are not worthy of it. Grant me your favour and assistance first, and then you shall see whether I am worthy. If you find that I am not, and that my demands are unjust or to your prejudice, or contrary to your honour, it will then be time to get rid of me, and to let me seek my fortune without troubling you. For, being innocent, as thank God I know I am, are you not doing me wrong to keep me here, on getting out of one prison as it were in another, encouraging my false enemies to persevere in their lying ways, and disheartening my friends by delaying the assistance promised them from other quarters, if I wished to employ it. I have all the good men on my side, and my detention may bring ruin upon them, or cause them to change their sentiments, and then there will be a new conquest to make. For your sake, I pardoned those who are at this moment seeking my ruin, of which I can accuse you before God, and.....further delay will undo me.....Excuse me, it is to me a matter of the utmost importance. I must speak to you without dissimulation. You have admitted into your presence a bastard brother of mine, who fled from

me,[v] and you refuse me that favour, and I feel assured, that the juster my cause the longer it will be delayed; for it is the remedy of a bad cause to stop the mouths of its adversaries; besides, I know that John Wood was commissioned to procure this detention as their most certain remedy in an unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority.

Wherefore, I beseech you, assist me, binding me to you in every thing, or be neuter. And permit me to try what I can do elsewhere, otherwise, by delaying matters, you will injure me more than my very enemies. If you are afraid of blame, at least, for the confidence that I have placed in you, do nothing either for or against me, that you do not see that I would do for my honour, being at liberty. For here I neither can nor will answer their false accusations, though, out of friendship and for my pleasure, I would cheerfully justify myself to you, but not in the form of a trial with my subjects, if they bark at me with my hands tied. Madam, they and I are not companions in any thing; and if I were to be kept here still longer, I would rather die than make myself such.

Now, speaking as your good sister, let me beseech you, for the sake of your honour, without further delay, to send back my lord Heris, with the assurance that you will assist me, as he has

[v] The Earl of Murray.

requested you in my name; for I have no answer either from you or from him, nor your license as above. I beseech you also, since I am come to place myself in your hands, in which I have been detained so long without having any certainty, to order my Lord Scrup to allow my subjects to have access, if only one, two, or three, to come and return, and to bring me intelligence about my subjects, otherwise it would be condemning me and my defenders. God grant that you may listen to what I had intended to say to you briefly; I should not have troubled you at such length, though I do not blame you in the least for these underhand practices against me; but I hope, notwithstanding all their fair offices and falsely-coloured speeches, that you will find me a more profitable friend than they can be to you. I shall say nothing particular but by word of mouth. Wherefore I shall conclude with my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam my good sister, health, and a long and very happy life.

From Carlil, the xiii of June, 1568.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1568. *June* 21. M. de Montmorin arrives at Carlisle on the part of Charles IX., and returns to London with letters for the Queen of England, the King of France, and Catherine de Medicis.

June —. At the commencement of Mary Stuart's sojourn at Carlisle, she is treated with great respect; but Lord Scrope adopts, by degrees, severe measures, treating her at last as a prisoner.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, the more I look forward, the more I feel convinced of your good inclination towards me, although the effects here are all contrary. Would to God I could have spoken to you two hours before Medlemur[w], or after, on the subject of the letters which I sent you the other day! as well as on other matters which I have long had at heart, and which, perhaps, might have been of advantage to you. But I must return to my subject. Medlemur says, he gave it as his opinion that ..... only the houses within obtained this, on the surrender of the place, as the bearer, George Douglas, will tell you, and mylord Heris, to whom the conditions are sent. For the rest, mylord Heris wrote to me that you would permit such of my subjects as have any business with me, to come and go with passports; but it is requisite

[w] He is called Mydlemore in the letters of Sir Francis Knollys, to whom, conjointly with Lord Scrope, the custody of Mary's person had been committed by Queen Elizabeth. Chalmers calls him Middlemore. He arrived on the 13th of June at Carlisle, had a long conference with the Queen of Scots on the following day, and then proceeded to Scotland on a mission to the Regent Murray. The latter had meanwhile forwarded to Elizabeth, by his secretary John Wood, copies and translations of the love-letters, sonnets, and other papers, alleged to have been addressed by Mary to Bothwell before her marriage with him, which were said to have been found in a gilt casket belonging to her in the castle of Edinburgh, and which, from the evidence that has been adduced by different writers, must be regarded as forgeries.

that you should write to my Lords Scrup and Knoles, as they have refused me this; and mylord Wurkinton seized, two days ago, two Scotchmen, whose houses had been burnt, and who were coming to me, in doing which, one was wounded at the time of his being taken: they have since been kept in close durance, and I believe their letters will be taken from them.

I beseech you to consider: my enemies are in the field, and strengthened, and determined, they say, upon ruining all my adherents, and not to commit their concerns to you, but even to lay before you charges against me. On the other hand, I am confined here as in a prison; my servants are treated with severity, and my hands, as it were, completely tied, not having permission to receive the requisite intelligence, while they are seeking favour with your council; and I address myself to you alone, or to those whom it pleases you to appoint.

I have been told that I am to be removed hence; this would put a stop to all my business, wherefore I answered, "I will not stir;" being sure that you would either send to bring me to you, or give me liberty to go as freely as I came; for you would not favour those who refuse to make you judge of their actions, and who try clandestinely to injure me, if your conscience and honour had not better

consideration than to permit you to be misled by their wicked inventions.

Now, I beseech you, since you see that subjects favour subjects, you, a queen, my sister and cousin, to favour your equal. Mylord Heris will inform you more fully what treatment I receive, and how little favour, which urges me to beseech you will write these lords here to give a safe-conduct to two of my most faithful subjects, and to command that those who come on my affairs may have permission to pass to and fro; and if in any thing they infringe your laws, they shall be responsible, and I for them.

So referring to mylord Heris, I request you to give your passport favourably to this gentleman,[x] and to countenance him, so that it may be known how agreeable to you is the service which he has rendered me. He is going to pass some time in France, to learn the language, and to be introduced to, and in part recompensed by, the king monsieur my good brother, and messieurs my uncles, by their command, on account of the desire which they have to know him who has performed a service which is so gratifying to them. I have, therefore, given him his *congé*, seeing that I have no need here of so many of my good servants. He wishes to be

[x] George Douglas, mentioned in the early part of this letter, who assisted Mary to escape from Lochleven.

gone, for he has no business to attend to, at least not for me, but merely his own pleasure.

Again referring to mylord Heris for further explanations, I conclude with my affectionate recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From Kerlil, the xxvith of June [1568].

Your very affectionate and good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam, although the necessity of my cause (which maketh me to be importune to you) do make you to judge that I am out of the way; yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects whereof you are persuaded, will think that I do as my cause doth require. Madam, I have not accused you, neither in words nor in thought, to have used yourself evil towards me: and I believe that you have no want of good understanding, to keep you from persuasion, against your maternal good inclination. But, in the mean time, I cannot choose (having my senses) but perceive very cruel furderance in my matters. Since my coming hither, I thought I had sufficiently discovered unto you the discommodities whicl. this delay bringeth unto me. And specially, that they think in this next

month of August, to hold a Parliament against me and all my servants. And in the mean time I am stayed here, and yet will you that I should put myself further into your country (without seeing you), and remove me farther from mine: and there to do me this dishonour at the request of my rebels, as to send commissioners to hear them against me, as you would do to a mean subject, and not hear me by mouth.

Now, madam, I have promised you to come to you: and having there made my moan and complaint of those rebels; and they coming thither not as possessors but as subjects to answer, I would have besought you to hear my justification of that which they have falsely set forth against me: and if I could not purge myself thereof, you might then discharge your hands of my cause, and let me go for such as I am. But to do as you say, if I were culpable, I would be better advised. But being not so, I cannot accept this dishonour at their hands, that being in possession they will come and accuse me before your commissioners, whereof I cannot like. And seeing you think it to be against your honour and cousinage to do otherwise, I beseech you that you will not be my enemy until you may see how I can discharge myself every way. And to suffer me to go into France, where I have a dowry to maintain me; or at the least

to go into Scotland, with assurance that, if there come any strangers thither, I will bind myself for their return without any prejudice to you. Or if it please you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute it to falsehood if I receive strangers in my country, without making you any other discharge for it. Do with my body at your will, the honour or blame shall be yours. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful servants may be secured (though you would do so) by strangers, than for them to be utterly undone upon h.... to receive in time to come particular commodity. There be many things that move to fear that I shall have to do in this country with other than with you. But forasmuch as nothing hath followed upon my moan, I hold my peace. Happen what may happen, I have as leefe to abide my fortune, as to seek it and not find it.

Further, it pleased you to give license to my subjects to go and come. This hath been refused me by my Lord Scroope and Mr. Knollys (as they say) by your commandment, because I would not depart hence to your charge until I had answer of this letter; though I shewed them that you required my answer upon the two points contained in your letter. The one is (to let you briefly understand them) I am come to you to make my moan to you; the which being heard, I would de-

clare unto you mine innocency, and then require your ayde. And for lack thereof I cannot but make my moan and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarrel; and to appeal to other princes to have respect thereunto, as my case requireth; and to you, madam, first of all, when you shall have examined your conscience before God and have him for witness: and the other, which is to come further into your country, and not to come to your presence. I will esteem that as no favour, but will take it as the contrary: obeying it as a thing forced.

In the mean time, I beseech you to return my Lord Heris, for I cannot be without him, having none of my council here; and also to suffer me, if it please you, without further delay to depart hence, whithersoever it be, out of this country. I am sure you will not deny me this simple request for your honour's sake, seeing it doth not please you to use your natural goodness towards me otherways. And seeing that of mine accord I am come hither, let me depart again with yours. And if God permit my causes to succeed well, I shall be bound to you for it: and happening otherwise, yet I cannot blame you.

As for my Lord Flemin, seeing that upon my credit you have suffered him to go home to his house, I warrant you he shall pass no further, but

shall return when it shall please you. In that you trust me I will not (to die for it) deceive you: but from Donbertan, [Dumbarton] I answer not, when my Lord Flemyn shall be in the Tower; for they which are within it will not let to receive succours, if I do not assure them of yours. No, though you would charge me withall. For I have left them in charge to have more respect to my servants and to my estate than to my life.

Good sister, be of another mind. Even the heart and all shall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to have satisfied you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas! do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cesar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing they are painted so long; meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the cameleon's, to turn you to my likeness: and though I should be so dangerous and curst as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well, with long and happy life.

From Carlile this vth of July, 1568.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARYE R.

1568. *July* 14. Mary is removed, in spite of her remonstrances, to Bolton Castle, Yorkshire, belonging to Lord Scrope.

July 28. Mary Stuart having again rejected the proposal which had been made her several times before, of justifying herself before a commission, the English ministers decide upon bringing her enemies to trial, and placing them at her disposal, if they are declared guilty.

In *August* she consents, contrary to the advice of her best friends, to submit implicitly to the decision of Elizabeth's commissioners.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam, relying upon your good will, with which I was made better acquainted by mylord Heris than I had been before, I had resolved not to trouble you again till I had your answer; but my subjects, who had assembled to prevent this pretended parliament, irregularly and falsely summoned, having heard that I wished them to hold a *session d'armes*, have sent to me Lord Squerlin [Skirling], who was at their meeting (as the bearer will more fully inform you), to assure me of their obedience in this as in every other thing, and that the other party would obey you; and as for themselves, I certify that they will not commit any hostilities, and if any one should, it will cost him his life. But he also beseeches me, as I do you, that he may not fare like de Medlemur, for my adherents desisted and the others not; wherefore, if you will assure me that they shall obey you, or that you will punish those who break the peace, or be their

enemy, I will answer for my party; if not, you will hold them excused, inasmuch as they only seek their own security, in arming themselves on the tenth of this month for this purpose, and to hold their place and mine in parliament, or lose their lives in the contest. Wherefore, I beseech you to lose no time in despatching the bearer, that I may be able to send them the assurance, in your name, that, if the others refuse, you will defend them; and as these points require brief answer, I will not detain you longer, unless to beg you to make up your mind to oblige a queen and such a number of faithful subjects, and a kingdom, without yielding to the persuasions of a small number, who will not be found so worthy. And, thereupon I kiss your hands, praying God to have you, madam my good sister, in his holy keeping.

From Boton, the vi of August, [1568]

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, at twelve o'clock last night I received your letter, and having, an hour before, seen what you were pleased to write to my-lord vice-chamberlain [Sir Francis Knollys] and my Lord Scrup, I had already begun to write to Scot-

land to command the same that you advise me of by your letters, after perusing which, I made the more haste to despatch one of my servants, who will go to them, even the most distant, and make commandment to them, in your name and mine, according to your letter; but as in the first you say you are informed that my faithful subjects were about to undertake some enterprise, madam, whoever gave you this intelligence is ill-informed, for they have assembled merely to prevent the injustice of the rebels, by which they meant to attribute to them the name they have richly deserved; and as for your subjects, you may be assured that they do not entertain so little respect for my person as to undertake such a thing, contrary to my wish. If I learn that men of honour, or high rank, assure you that what I say ..... I will quarrel with them, and if others make me out a liar, I will be the first ready to punish them, for representing me as that which I would rather die than be.

As for France, I assure you that I have had no news of what you mention. I wrote from Carlil, when I informed master Knowles, and told him that I hoped you would excuse me till I knew your good pleasure, and having no assurance, it behoved me to seek my ancient alliances: but I assure you that, since the return of mylord Heris, I have engaged in no practices which are in any way adverse to that

which you communicated to him. I hope to satisfy you in this.

I have discoursed with master Knowles several times, and have particularly requested him to give you to understand that I am very desirous to have the favour to speak to you, for the purpose of a perpetual assurance to both. I will not urge you on this head, but if I were sure that I should not annoy you, I should, after the return of ..... (whom I beg you to be pleased to send back hither, for I have a great many things that I must despatch), gladly converse personally with you, for our common advantage, and so much the more gladly, as I feel obliged by your demonstration of friendship. When this comes to the point, I will say but one thing: recollect that I have told you that you would never have your ..... if it does not depend on you. I dare not trouble you during your progress, wherefore I shall present my affections and recommendations to your good grace, praying God to give you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From Boton, the thirteenth of August [1568].

Your affectionate and very good
sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I have this morning received letters from my country, which I have com-

municated to your vice-chamberlain, together with a letter for you from the principal of my subjects, which, having seen the duplicate of it, I was afraid to send to you, because it was devised by them before they heard of your inclination towards me, rather as men warmly attached to their sovereign than as good secretaries towards such a princess: but, on the other hand, seeing that they offer you their service, if there should be an arming, you will excuse the attachment of the members to their head, and take their offers in good part. I was very glad to find them in the same disposition to be obliged to you as myself, which I have begged your vice-chamberlain to represent to you more at large, and my good intention, which leads me to send you their said letter.

For the rest, Monsieur de Mora [the Earl of Murray] openly declares that he will hold the parliament. My people have already set forward, as the Earl of Hontley is marching; and you will see by that of mylord Heris, how desirous he is to stop them, which I have done; and if they are not prevented from learning my pleasure, I am sure they will obey it and yours. I beseech you, let not the others hold a parliament out of bravado, as they boast they will; or, if they are determined upon it, do not permit them after the excuses are received: for, as to me, I submit to your good and

wise discretion, relying upon your promise that, if in any thing they contravene, you will interest yourself no longer for their cause. The report is, that they will not pronounce forfeiture against any one, for they dare not; but, in order to cause it to be said that you have not forbidden them, they are resolved to hold it, that they may be able to answer every one, and allege that it is the same thing as to authorize them when nobody contradicts them. I beg you to consider whom to depute to come hither: that is no business of theirs, for they have already resolved to send four: I would advise too that those despatched be persons of quality; and, that if they hold the parliament, I rely upon your promise; wherefore I should wish you to command that there be none at all, or if there is, that you would hold them to be violators of what they had promised, and assist me against them, according to your promise. If you break it, I am sure it would be needless to make further application to you: seeing that I act upon your advice alone, and shall not take any step whatever to the contrary, you would not wish things to turn out to my injury, since I have put myself, my cause, and every thing in your hands. If, on the contrary, I have been mistaken in you, to my prejudice, you will have the blame; for I have placed my whole trust in you, and deal so frankly with you, that I conceal from you none of my in-

tentions; and if you would please that I should see you, I would give you a proof of this for ever.

I will not trouble you further than to remind you of your sister, who has made you her protectress, and to beg you to put the best construction on this letter which I send you, and which I should have softened, if it had come open into my hands. So, without detaining you any longer, after kissing your hands, I will pray God to grant you, madam my good sister, health and a long and happy life.

From Boton, the xiiii of August [1568].

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I do not send you the private letters of Earl Hontley, because I have shown them to Master Knowles, and he assures me that he will report to you upon them.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I have received letters from you of the same date; one in which you make mention of Monsieur de Mora's excuse for holding his pretended parliament, which seems to me very cold, for obtaining more indulgence than I persuaded myself they would have from your promise: as to not daring to give commission to come without a parlia-

ment for their few ..... nobility; I answer for it that they have not above three or four more, who would so well have spoken their opinion out of parliament, which has not been held for this purpose, but to do precisely that which we should have required to be prevented, namely, the proscription of my subjects for having been faithful to me; for I made sure, till yesterday, that I had a promise from you that the letter written to my Lord Scrup and Master Knoles should inclose one against them, such as should make them feel. However, I find that I was mistaken, and I am the more sorry for it, because, on the strength of your letter, which they showed me, and their word, I have so openly declared that all the revenge I should desire would be to show the difference between the falseness of their conduct and the sincerity of mine. In your letter too, dated the xth of August, you introduced these words:—

"I thinke your ..... perly upon my sendinge former aduises, will hold no parlement at all, and if they do, it schal be onely in a forme off an assembly, to accord whome to send to this realme, and in what sort, for otherwise, if they shall proceed in mener off parlement, wth any act off iudsgment aguainst any person, I shall not any wise allowet theroff, and if they shall be so overseen, then you mei thinke the sam to be no oder moment than their former procedins, and by susche their rasche manner

of proceedins shall most preiudice themselfs, and be assured to find me ready to condempne them in their doings."

Whereupon I countermanded my servants, making them retire suffering, according to your command, for being falsely called traitors by those who are really so, and moreover provoked by skirmishes and the intercepting of their letters; and, on the contrary, you are informed that my subjects have invaded yours. Madam, whoever has reported this to you is not an honest man, for Lord Seifort and his son are and have been rebels to me, from the beginning. Inquire if they were not at Renfro with them, ... Nevertheless, to give you a proof of my fidelity and of their falsehood, if you will please to furnish me with the names of the guilty persons, and to support me, I will command my subjects to seize them, or, if you wish yours to do it, mine shall aid them. I beg you to let me know your pleasure. For the rest, my faithful subjects shall be responsible for all that they shall be charged with doing against you ..... neither your people nor the rebels, since you advised me to make them fall back.

As for the French, I surmise that no application was made for them, for I had such hope in you that I should have had no need of them. I know not if the duke received my letters, but I protest to you, calling God to witness, that I know nothing what-

ever of their coming, notwithstanding what you write, neither have I heard a syllable from France, and cannot believe it on that account. If they are there, it is without my knowledge or consent. Wherefore, I beseech you not to condemn me unheard, for I am anxious to keep all that I promised Master Knoles, and assure you that your friendship, which you are pleased to offer me, will be accepted before any thing else in the world, if France stood by to urge me to refuse it, on this condition, that you take my affairs in hand, my sister and dear friend, as my trust is in you. But there is only one thing that troubles me: I have so many enemies who have your ear, which . ..... by word of mouth, all my actions are distorted and falsely reported, wherefore it is impossible for me to be sure of you, on account of the falsehoods that have been told you to alienate your good will from me, so that I earnestly desire to have the favour of expressing to you my sincere and warm affection, which I cannot so well do in writing, since my enemies wrong me by giving a false colouring to every thing. My dear sister, gain me; send for me..... jealousy on account of false reports of her who wishes only for your favour.

I refer to Master Knoles, to whom I have freely opened my mind, and, after kissing your hands, I pray God to grant you, madam my good sister,

health and long and a happy life. From Boton, which I promise you not to hope to leave, but with your good grace, whatever liars may say to the con trary, the xxii of August.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, while others are making unjust complaints to you of my faithful subjects and myself, they and I cannot refrain from preferring a true one, which is, that, to please you, I have ordered all my adherents not to show themselves, but to await their pretended parliament, which, I assured them, would not attempt to do any more than to choose persons to be sent hither; assuring them, moreover, that you had forbidden it. My people obeyed. As far as can be learned of the others, such as the Earl of Hontlay, they have taken my man and letters, and will not suffer any to pass, that they may turn them to treasonable purposes, thinking to join the others, who, having received my letters, stopped all of them, without coming nearer to give me occasion for quarrel. Meanwhile the traitors have condemned the honest men, at least part of them, and intend to finish with the others, which is a thing of great import-

ance to me, as they say that they shall be compelled either to surrender to them or go to France.

I place such reliance upon your promise, that I shall have recourse to no other remedy but this, to remind you of your promise, my obedience and confidence in you, and their disobedience; persuaded that you will not suffer so disgraceful a thing as that, for having believed you, I should be reduced to such extremity, as you see by the letters of Lord Heries, whom you will excuse for writing so warmly, on account of the heart-breaking grief it is that honest men should be thus treated. If you would be pleased, seeing the way in which they are proceeding, to make some demonstration to my people that you are, according to your promise, offended with their adversaries, and pleased with the obedience of my adherents, ... to send for me merely because I wish to submit my grievances to you, seeing that those make me await their coming at their pleasure, and the others at the same time take their advantage, making use of your forbearance to cover their presumption, I should think my patience the more amply rewarded. But, if this does not please you, I am certain that, seeing the acts which they are committing, you will presently tell me to restore order as well as I can, and that I need no other support, my good sister. By this stroke you will

show that you make great difference between one who does all he can against your commands, and her who places implicit reliance upon you, and obeys you.

I beseech you to let me know your determination forthwith on these my requests and complaints. Now your honour and good disposition, lion heart, and authority speak for me, and I shall only add here, that you would have taken it as an insult, if, having thus taken the cause into your hands, my partisans had commenced hostilities; and if the others take messengers and letters, they break treaties, and proceed as though they were legitimate judges, since they transmitted the judgment to me. Whether they are such or not, the further they proceed, and the more they offend those whom you wish to reconcile, I make no doubt that you will show your generosity to those who pay so little attention to your commands, without so much as considering what they owe you. Wherefore I present my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to have you in his good and holy keeping. From Boton, the xxiii. of August, [1568].

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I request you to excuse my bad writing, for,

having received these news, I am not so composed as I was before.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam,—Regardless of the favour of any of your people, the suspicions of mine, the false reports which are daily made to you against me, and of those made to me that you favour my rebels, and that you intend to send with the two principal commissioners one who has always been my enemy—setting aside all these said points, I will beseech you to look upon and treat me as your relative and good friend, according to what you are pleased to offer me, and to comfort me forthwith, under this violent tempest of reports, by the assurance of your favourable assistance. I have said what I had upon my heart to your vice-chamberlain, entreating you not to let me be lost for want of a safe port; for like a vessel driven by all the winds, so am I, not knowing where to find a haven, unless, taking into your kind consideration my long voyage, you bring me into a safe harbour. But I need speedy succour, for I am weak with the long struggle in which I have been engaged. Receive me, then, and enable me to encourage the others; for, as for myself, I rely so entirely on your promised friendship that no reports can persuade me

to the contrary. Would to God you would do the same by me!

I have spoken my mind to Master Knoles, and begged him to write to you, and to send you the letters from my subjects; to which, as they do not feel that confidence in your good disposition which I am determined to entertain, I would not serve as ambassador. Only hasten, then, my good sister, that I may prevent what might displease you, which I cannot do without your favour, if I were ever so devotedly attached, till I know your good pleasure. I would not thus importune you, but I have something in my head, so that, unless I have a decided answer, I shall have the boldness to set out to come to you, if I am not taken prisoner by your command. Do not ruin me, I beseech you, for it is my wish to devote my life and heart to you for ever. I pray God to prosper you, and to give me patience and good counsel against so many wicked inventions of this world. From Boton, this first of September [1568].

Your very good and obliged sister
and cousin, if you please,
MARY R.

I beg you to order some liberty to be granted to the poor prisoners, who are so harshly treated, without doing disservice to him; and give orders that the remainder of my rings be not sold, as they

have ordered in their parliament, for you promised that nothing should be done to my prejudice. I should be very glad if you had them, for greater security, for this is not meat fit for traitors, and, betweèn you and me, I make no difference; for I should be delighted if there were any that you would like, taking them from my hand, or with my consent, if you found them to your taste.

The Queèn of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys.

Mester Knoleis, I heue sum neus from Scotland; I send you the double off them I writ to the quin, my gud sister, and pres you to du the lyk, conforme to that I spak yesternicht vnto you, and sent hasti ansar. I refer all to your discretion, and will lissne beter in your gud delin for mi, nor I kan persud you, nemli in this langasg: excus my iuel writin for I neuuer vsed it afor, and am hestet. Ye schal si my bel vhuilk is opne, it is sed Seterday my unfrinds wil be vth you. I sey nething bot trests weil, and ye send oni to your wiff ye may asur her schu wuld a bin weilcom to a pur strenger, huar nocht bien acquentet vth her, wil nocht be ouuer bald to wreit bot for the acquentans betwix ous. I wil send you little tokne to rember you off the gud hop I heuu in you, gues ye fend a mit mesager I wald wysh ye bestouded it reder upon

her non any vder; thus affter my commendations I prey God heuu you in his kipin.

Your assured gud frind,

MARIE R.

Excus my iuel writin thes furst tym.

[Bolton, Sept 1st., 1568.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I have received great consolation from your kind promises and language used concerning me to the Abbot of Kilvourn, and since from your letter, in which you assure me that you give no credit to the reports made about me. I beseech you always to entertain this opinion of my enemies, which they have indeed deserved, for they seek to injure me in every way, as if they thought they had so grievously offended me that they are ashamed of the action, or make amends by concluding that they are not deserving of pardon. For the rest, you are displeased with my subjects. Madam, they will be manifestly disobedient to me, or they will submit, according to the laws, to those who call themselves my friends. I cannot answer for Seifort, for he is against me, nor for his *wardenrie*, only Lord Farnhest has promised that he and his people will obey me. I have written to him that complaints are made about him, and that he should satisfy the governor

of Barwic on behalf of himself and all his followers, or I shall be his enemy. I entreat you, if robbers who sell themselves to those who will give them most offend you, let me not have to suffer for it. In time of peace, neither you nor I can prevent violences on the borders, much less at this moment, when he who governs there does not recognise my authority. But consider what I can do, and let me know, and I will do what you think best, and I will employ all my obedient subjects to exert themselves to the utmost. Lord Heris, I am sure, will do his duty, and wherever he dares go will make such redress as you shall commission him. I have written to him to this effect. I shall send you his answer, which I think he will bring himself, with the others whose names Master Knoles forwards to you, and who will not fail at the place and time appointed by Farnhest; I will send you his own letter. I have shown mine to my Lord Scrop, how my subjects will assist yours to punish offenders, to which party soever they may belong, if you will be pleased to write to Lord Hondston that he may inform them what they will have to do. If a hired marauder could endanger my cause, I should be in a pitiable condition.

For the rest, I perceive how disagreeable my coming would be to you; I shall therefore abandon the intention; I can answer sufficiently all

that can be alleged to you thereupon; but I will not argue against you. Since, therefore, you have so often admonished me to put confidence in you, and promised sincere friendship, would you seek elsewhere for that which you see clearly by the coming of Kelvourn, who solicited a passport for the duke, offering his service, in order to make it appear to you that, satisfied with your promise, I have but one string to my bow? I have no doubt you will consider the confidence I have in you, and not make it appear that I should have lost nothing by the change, if I had not despised all foreign friendships, in order to obtain your solid support, and that I have not injured my cause by humbling myself to you; therefore command; for when I was in prison, and before the battle, you promised to reinstate me, and when I came and put myself into your hands, could you do less? I think not; though your letters are civilly cold. As for the ambiguity of these, although I am persuaded that if you had no intention to oblige me, you would not take upon you the trouble of my affairs, the good or ill success of which will be attributed to you, as either the restorer of a queen or the contrary.

I will cease to admonish you about any thing; do as you think best, seeing the confidence I have in you. As for writing to you, it would be too long

an address, and would require more discussion than could be conveniently carried on by letter. Whenever you think there is any thing wherein I can serve you, I shall be ready to do so, either after your disputes are begun, or after you have, according to your promise, reinstated me in my authority. Meanwhile, I will have patience, contenting myself with offering, in every thing that is in my power, to devote myself entirely to you without exception, and I promise you that I will not deny you any thing I am fond of, if you are disposed to accept it. In the mean time, God grant me patience, and to his grace and yours I humbly commend myself; and I and my people will be ready on the day appointed to expect your resolution.

At Boton, the v. of September [1568].

Your most affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I beseech you not to put off the day again, for I am most anxious either to see you, or to return to the country whence I came.

The Queen of Scots to the Queen of Spain.

Madam my good sister, I cannot describe to you the pleasure which I have derived, at so unfortunate a time for me, from your friendly and consoling letters, which seem as if sent by God to

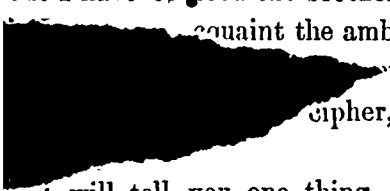
solace me amidst so many troubles and adversities with which I am surrounded. I clearly perceive how much I am bound to praise God for our having been brought up, fortunately for me, together in our youth,[y] which is the cause of our indissoluble friendship, proofs of which you give on your part. Alas! what return can I make, unless by loving and honouring you, and, if I should ever have the means, by serving you, as I have always wished to do, and shall as long as I live.

Do not blame me, my good sister [redacted] written to you—for I [redacted] imprisoned, and so strictly [redacted] either the means to write, or any [redacted] could entrust my letters. After that, I was ten days in Scotland, and in a castle only five miles distant from my enemies. Since then, I lost the battle.[z] I was obliged to take refuge here, as I informed you by Montmorin. By the way, I kiss your hands for the regret which he told me you had expressed for my misfortunes. But to return to my subject. Don Guzman can vouch for the impossibility, in my situation, either of sending a messenger, or even a letter, with safety; for I am in the

y Elizabeth, third wife of Philip II., of Spain, was the eldest daughter of the French King, Henry II., at whose court the Queen of Scots was brought up.

z The battle of Langside, which induced Mary to seek refuge in England.

hands of people, who watch me so narrowly, that the most trifling circumstance would furnish them with an excuse for serving me a worse turn than detaining me against my will; and, but for this, I should long since have been in France. But she [Queen Elizabeth] has positively refused to allow me to go thither, and insists on directing my affairs, whether I will or not. I cannot give you here all the details, as they would be too long; but I have ordered the brother of my ambassador



quaint the ambassador of the king,
very particular, that
cipher, otherwise, it would

I will tell you one thing, by the way; that if the kings, your lord and your brother, were at peace, my misfortune might be of service to Christendom. For my coming to this country has caused me to make acquaintance, by which I have learned so much of the state of things here, that if I had ever so little hope of succour elsewhere, I would make ours the reigning religion, or perish in the attempt.[a] The whole of this part is entirely devoted to the Catholic faith, and with the right

[a] This letter, written at the time when Mary was making such strong professions of implicit submission to Elizabeth, clearly shows what England might have expected, could Mary have got rid of its detested Protestant sovereign, although her "good sister," and made good her own claim to her throne.

that I have, for this reason, in my favour, I could easily teach this queen what it is to intermeddle and assist subjects against princes. She is extremely jealous lest this, and this only, should restore me to my country. But she tries, by all means, to make me appear guilty of what I have so unjustly been accused of, as you will perceive from a statement of all the intrigues which have been directed against me ever since I was born, by those traitors to God and to me. It is not finished. Nevertheless, I [illegible] you that I am offered many fine things to change my religion; which I will never do. But if I am compelled to yield, in some points, which I have stated to your ambassador, you may judge that it will be because I am a prisoner. Now I assure you, and beseech you to assure the king, that I shall die in the Roman Catholic religion, whatever they may say to the contrary. I cannot exercise it here, because they will not permit me, and, merely for having spoken of it, they have threatened to shut me up more closely, and to treat me with less consideration.

You have adverted to a subject in jest, which I mean to take in good earnest; it is respecting the ladies, your daughters. Madam, I have also a son. I hope that if the king, and the king your brother, to whom I beg you to write in my behalf, will but

send an embassy to this queen, declaring to her that they do me the honour to rank me as their sister and ally, and that they are resolved to take me under their protection, requiring her at the same time, if she values their friendship, to send me back to my kingdom, and to assist me to punish my rebels; otherwise, they will themselves endeavour to do so, being assured that she will never take part with subjects against their sovereign; she will not dare to refuse them, for she is [illegible] of insurrections. For she is not greatly beloved by any one of the religions, while, God be praised, I believe I have gained the hearts of a great many good people of this country, since my coming, so that they are ready to hazard all they possess, for me and my cause. If this were done, and some other necessary favours, which I have mentioned to your ambassador; being in my own country, and in friendship with this queen, whom her people will not permit to see me, for fear I should lead her into a better track, (for they are of opinion that I should govern her if I studied to please her), I might then hope to bring up my son in devotion to your interest; and if it please God to be merciful to me, and, with your assistance, to gain for him that which belongs to us, I am sure that, if you grant him one of your daughters, whichsoever you please, he

will be but too happy. They have almost made an offer to naturalize him; and for the queen to adopt him as her son. But I have no wish to give him up to them, and to resign my rights, the consequence of which would be to render him of their wretched religion. If I had my choice, I should much rather send him to you, and risk every danger to re-establish the ancient and good faith throughout this whole island. I beg you will keep this secret, for it might cost me my life; yet, whatever you hear, be assured that I shall never change my opinion, however I may be compelled to accommodate myself to circumstances.

I will not trouble you at present with a longer letter, but merely beseech you to write in my behalf. Should I and this queen come to terms, I will write and inform you. But it is necessary that your ambassador should be commanded to correspond with me in cipher, and to send some one to visit me at times, as my attendants dare not go to them.

I humbly recommend myself to your favour, praying God to give you health and a long and happy life. I have much more to write to you, but I dare not; I am in a fever about this. I beg you to send me some one, in your especial name, and one in whom I can place confidence, so that I

may make known to him all my intentions. From Boton, this 24th September, 1568.

Your very humble and obedient sister,

MARY.

1568. *October* 4. The conferences are opened at York: the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, are commissioners on the part of Elizabeth. Lesly the Bishop of Ross, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, for Mary Stuart. And on the side of the rebels, Murray, Morton, Lindsay, Maitland, and the Bishop of Orkney.

October 8. The representatives of the Queen of Scotland accuse Murray and his accomplices of having taken up arms against her, of detaining her a prisoner at Lochleven, and of constraining her by force and menaces to sign the act of abdication.

October 10. The conferences are suspended by the English ministers.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I have been informed by my cousin, the Duke of Chatelherault,[b] of the report that has been made to you concerning me, which has given you some displeasure. Madam, I am certain that if you had heard the conversation between Master Knoles and me, you would not have taken it amiss, as you have done; and I swear to you that I have not seen a single stranger, nor did I expect to be copied in any thing. Madam, since I have been in your country, I will defy the

[b] The Earl of Arran, who was Regent of Scotland, till the queen dowager, Mary's mother, assumed that authority, when he repaired to France, where the king created him Duke of Chatelherault.

world to say that I have offended you in deed or word, confiding implicitly in you, wherein I am sure you will not find yourself deceived, and have lived according to your laws, without giving any one occasion to transgress them. I shall refer to Master Knoles himself, who, I am sure, will not have the conscience to assert that I said any thing to offend you, as I have commanded Boton to repeat to you at length the whole conversation which took place between us; and laughing on my part also at my ..... I entreat you not to blame me for ..... promise that I am in nowise .....to the affairs which have ..... give credence to the said Boton, as you would do to me on all points, for I have charged him to explain to you several points in my name.

For the rest, I hear that Ricarton is taken by your command: I am sorry for it, for, having come back to me, the least motive would always have delivered him to you, and all my servants, for, thank God, I have no delinquents among them: but if the like severity were exercised towards the others, you would have had juster cause to detain the greater part of those who are at Fore, for which matter they accuse other people. I have no doubt that, as he was coming with letters concerning my affairs, you will send them to me, and him too, and I will give him up again whenever

you please, if he is accused of any thing besides having assisted to get me out of prison.

So, referring to my cousin, the duke, to whom I have written fully, and to Boton, I will not trouble you further, unless to beseech you not to listen to any thing against me, for, while, according to promise, you are a good sister and friend to me, I never will do any thing to displease you, for any person whatsoever; whereupon I kiss your hands, praying God to grant you, madam my good sister, a long and happy life.

From Boton, the viii of October [1568.]

Your very affectionate and good
Sister and cousin,
MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to M. de la Forest.

To Monsieur de la Forest, Ambassador in England of Monsieur my good Brother.

Monsieur de la Forest, since the commencement of the conferences, opened, as you have heard, and already continued for several days, at York, the Queen of England, madam my good sister, has desired that I would send some of my commissioners to her, for the purpose, I believe, of bringing our affairs to a more speedy settlement, agreeably to her wish. I have therefore sent the Bishop of

Rosse,[c] Lord Herries, and Kilvourn, to hear what she will be pleased to say to them, and have charged them, and the said bishop in particular, to inform you of what they have already negociated in the said conferences, as well as to confer with you upon the proposals which may be made them while there. I beg of you, by the good-will and affection I know you to entertain for me, to tell them freely your opinion on the subject. I pray God, Monsieur de la Forest, to have you in his holy keeping. From Bowton, this xxij of October, 1568.

Your very good friend,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, having come to throw myself into your arms, as my surest hope, and which I have for many reasons so often reminded you of, that I am certain it is unnecessary to refresh your memory on that head; it has given me great pleasure to hear that you have been pleased, agreeably to my first request, to take upon yourself the trouble of putting an end to the too long differences between me and my subjects, which I am convinced will be now of short duration, and ter-

[c] Lesly, Bishop of Ross, ambassador of Mary Stuart in England, and one of her representatives at the conferences held at York.

minate to the benefit of our poor, afflicted nation, and in particular to my honour. From the respect and confidence which I have in you, and the desire to please you, which I have shewn, both in preventing the enterprise undertaken by my faithful subjects, when their force was striving to get at least moderate pay, and to be allowed to seek assistance elsewhere than of you, whom I wish to please in every thing, as my good sister and only friend, convinced that you will be as favourable to me as you have always promised, if I followed your good advice, which I have done, and intend to do, as you may learn more fully from the Bishop of Rosse and my Lord Heris, whom I have sent to you, as the two most trustworthy I have; begging you to believe them, as you would myself, either separately or together. One of them you know; the other, I hope, will satisfy you better than the report made to you concerning him, and therefore I have opened my heart to them both, and my Lord Heris knows all that has passed between us.

Referring to them, I will conclude with my humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam, with health, a long and happy life. From Boton, this xxii of October [1568].

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1568. *November* —. The Duke of Norfolk discloses to Maitland his project of a union with the Queen of Scotland.

November 14. M. de la Mothe Fénélon succeeds M. Bochetel de la Forest, as French ambassador at the Court of London.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Duke de Nemours.[d]

Monseigneur, I have received a letter which the queen my sovereign has written to you, and which I consider to be in reply to the one you transmitted to her, through me, on your departure; I have enclosed it with this, and placed them in the hands of Lucas Manelly, to be forwarded to you.

As to the affairs of her majesty—the deputies of both parties are assembled at York, in England, where the Bastard of Scotland is in person, but nothing as yet is concluded or decided upon. I hope shortly to have some information, which I shall not fail to communicate to you. If the letter of my said sovereign requires an answer, and you will please to address it to me, I will forward it to her by the very first opportunity.

Although, monseigneur, I have not written to you since your departure, I have not forgotten to do what you ordered me, in regard to the ambassador of Spain and others, assuring you that they were much grieved to hear what I had to say to

[d] James of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, espoused Anne d'Este, widow of the Duke of Guise, and cousin of Mary Stuart.

them. I shall always be ready to receive your commands, and to execute them to the best of my power.

I pray God to give you, monseigneur, perfect health, and a long and happy life.

From Paris, this xviii of November, 1568.

Your very humble and obedient servant,

JA. ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGO.

1568. *November* 22. Elizabeth transfers the conferences from York to Westminster, and grants an audience to Murray.

The Queen of Scots to Don Francis De Alava.

I have been extremely astonished by a report, which the Archbishop of Glasgow informs me has been made against me to his Catholic majesty, my lord and good brother. For this reason, I have not failed to write immediately to his majesty, to beseech him not to believe it, since it is a calumny and imposition, emanating from plots and the malicious machinations of my rebel subjects, and other persons who encourage them, as I have ordered the said Archbishop of Glascow to inform you, in my name more fully, in order that you may be able to lay the whole before the king, begging you not to refuse me your good offices in this matter, and to act under this circumstance in my favour, as you have always done. You may be sure that his majesty will give, immediately, credit to what you say, and

perceive that you, above all, have the means of being better informed about every thing than those who have dared to assert that I was fickle in my religion; whereas, I never had any other wish than that of remaining, of living, and dying, in the bosom of the holy Roman Catholic church.

I have this moment received the mournful news of the death of the Catholic queen, madam my good sister, whom may God receive into his holy glory! This bad news has doubled my grief and my affliction; for I have lost in her the best sister and friend I had in the world. I had the greatest confidence in her, and I have no doubt that she would have defended me against such falsehoods, and assured the king, her lord, of my constancy. But, as it has pleased God to send one affliction upon another, there is nothing left for me but to be resigned, and to beseech him to grant me the patience which I need, and, since my cause is just, to deign to succour and support me.[e]

The Queen of Scots to King Philip II.

Most high and most puissant prince, my very dear and well beloved brother cousin and ally, in the midst of my adversity I have received, at the

[e] It may easily be perceived that this letter was written in 1568, as it alludes to the following one addressed to the king, and mentions the death of queen Elizabeth of Spain, which took place the 3rd October in that year.

same moment, two pieces of news, from which it would seem that Fortune is redoubling her efforts to put an end to me altogether. One of these is that of the death of the queen, your consort, madam my good sister, whose soul may God receive! and the other, that some one has represented to you that I am wavering in my religion, and that, to my misfortune, you doubt, sometimes, whether I have any at all. These two accounts afflict me to such a degree, that, though one leaves some hope of solace and remedy, I see none for the other. I know not which of the two grieves me most. I have reason to mourn, as I do with you, the death of so good and virtuous a princess, whose loss, I am sure, will be most painful to you. As for myself, personally, it has bereft me of the best sister and friend I had in the world—of her in whom I had the greatest hope: and, though this loss is irreparable, though we ought to be resigned to it, and to submit to the will of God, who has been pleased to take her to himself, and to remove her from this life to enjoy another much more happy, still, it is impossible for me to mention, or even think of her, but my heart melts into tears and sighs, whilst the love I bore her is incessantly recalling her to my memory. I have also particular cause to be afflicted, as I am afraid of losing that which she had, in part, gained for me with you; that is to say, so good an opinion,

that I could be very sure of finding in you that protection and favour which I need in my misfortunes, as I am certain that if God had but spared her life until now, she would have answered to you for me, and have assured you that the reports made to you are absolutely false, which they really are. It is not long since I wrote to her, and I remember that, among other things, I intimated my firm resolution of living and dying in the Roman Catholic faith, whatever ill usage I might have to endure here on that account, and this too before I had the least suspicion that any one had endeavoured to calumniate me to you, though I have had a long experience of the wickedness of the rebels and other persons of this country, who tolerate them, because they are all of the same sect; but I never could have thought that calumny could have so many attractions for persons professing the Catholic religion, and of that faith I believe them to be who prejudiced you against me.

I must now tell you that, whoever the person may be who has been the instrument of such disservice, I beseech you not to believe him, as he must be misinformed; and if you will please to honour me by appointing individuals worthy of confidence to make inquiries of those persons who are about me, and who are the most capable of answering and speaking on any subject whatever, I am sure that

they will certify the very contrary, for they have never heard me utter a single word, or do the least thing that could give them so unfavourable an idea of me.

If I do not exercise my religion, it must not be concluded that I waver between the two. Besides, since my arrival in this kingdom, I begged to be, at least, allowed to exercise it in the same manner as the ambassador of a foreign prince is permitted to do; but was told that I was a kinswoman of the queen's, and should never obtain that indulgence. An English minister was afterwards sent to me; he merely recites some prayers in the vulgar tongue, which I had not the power to prevent, because I was, as I still am, deprived of my liberty, and closely guarded. But if it be supposed I have done wrong by being present at those prayers which I attended, because I was not allowed any other exercise of my religion, I am ready to make any amends that may be considered necessary, that all the Catholic princes in the world may be convinced that I am an obedient, submissive, and devoted daughter of the holy Catholic and Roman church, in the faith of which I will live and die, without ever entertaining any other intention than this — an intention from which, with the help of God, I will never swerve in any way whatever.

But, as a single word on this point ought to suf-

fice, I will not trouble you further on the subject, except to entreat you to lend a favourable ear to that which I have charged the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador at the court of France, to say to your resident at the said court that he may communicate it to you.

These presents having no other object, I conclude, very humbly and affectionately recommending myself to your favour, and praying the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

From the castle of Bowton, in England, the last day of the month of November, one thousand five hundred and sixty eight.

Your very good sister,

MARY.

1568. *December* 3. The Bishop of Ross, one of Mary's commissioners at the conferences held in York and London, having in vain demanded that his mistress might come and exonerate herself in person, protests against all that has been done, and declares the conferences terminated. Cecil will not admit of this protest.

The Queen of Scots to the Abbot of Arbroath and the rest of his faction.

As to the state of my affairs, I doubt but ye hast understand that at the convention in Yorke my rebells was confoundit in all they could alleadge for their insurrection and imprisonment of my personne, preservinge the which they not so:..... Who be moyene of some of the Q. of Englands mynisters,

that amongest her promises she has letten them haife presence, and afor their coming she promist to understand and trye thair haill contents of thair conspiracie herselfe, to the effect the same should be credit with some happie.....of my honor and contentment, and therfor desirit that some of my commissioners should pass towards her with diligence. But the proceadings since has shawin it was not the butt she shott at: for my matters has been prolongit in delaies, and in the mean tyme that my rebelles practizit secretly with her and her inynisters. Soe are they accordit and agreeit that my sonne should be delyverit in her handes to be nourished in this countrey as she think guid and declarit him to be abill to succeed efter her death in case she haffe no succession of her aiwn body, and for the mair securitie the castells of Edinburgh and Starlinge should be in Englishmen's hands to be kept in the said Q. of Inglands name.

Item with moyenne and concurrence of the Earle of Murray, the castell of Dunbartane shall be seizit and taken out of your handes, giffe they may, and in like wise randerit to the Q. of England in her keepinge, providinge your promisis to be kept. She has promised to helpe and supporte the Earle of Murray and to maintaine him in the usurpinge of my authoritie and cause him to be declarit to succeede to the cronne of Scotland after the death of

my sonne, in case he die without succession of his bodie. And the Earle of Murray sall acknowledge to hauld the realme of Scotland in manner of fee of the Q. of England. And this is all the equitie of my cause and proceedings. For the which cause I trust the sayde Quene of Ingland myndes haill for the ruyn and destruction of my haill realme. Howbeit, her promisis was uderwise as I looked for. But God and guid Scotts hartes of my subiects remedie the same.

Yitt this is not all. Thair is an uder leigue maid betwixte the Earle of Murray and the Earle of Hertford, which should [marrie] one of the Secretary Cecill's daughters quha dressis all their draughts: by which leigue the saed Erle of Murray and Hartfuird sauld meit and fortifie with ane other in the succession, that onny one proceeding of awin syde: that is to saie, the Karle of Murray for my realme, by ressone of his legitimacon, and the Karle of Hartfuird one the uder side for Ingland because of vmquhill Dame Rachern on quhame he begat two bairns. Soe they are viz^{t}. after my upn.....to my sonn's deith, he being onis out of my subiects handes, quhat can I hope for but a lamentable tragedie.

Theis thinges are concludit amongist the cheife of my rebelles with the auntient and natural enemies of my realme: and thois restid nothing now but to

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establishe and assure the said Karle of Murray in his usurpinge against my autoritie. And to begin the same, they would haif persuadit me be craft to haife liberally dymitted and renouncit my cronne, and to cause me to condescend to seike an unhappie thing and unlawfull design: thar has bein usit all craft that was possible, viz^{t}. with boastinge and faier wordes and mony guid promises to me. But yitt they seeing I was resolut to do nothing herin to their proffit, the Q. of Ingland namit new commissioners with thame quhilk was all ready. She putt in number of the q^{lk}. the said totill with others of his faction: and permytted me pass thair and declare my awn ressonis that they would have presentid in the said conference, quhilk broken for contraing that the Q. of Ingland has maid of her promises. Which was not to permytt the Karle of Murray to come in her presence before the said conference was endit. And morauer that noe things should be done preiudiciall to my honourable estate, and right that I may haif to the countrey.

Efter this my commissioners left the said conference with solempne protestacons that all which was done there untill to my preiudition in ony sort sall nill and of no effecte: and ther uppon are deliberat to come away as soone as it is possible. Whereof I thought guid to advertise yow to the effect ye may understande the veritie of the matters

to enforme our frendes of the same. Therefore I pray you assemble our frendes and faithful subjects like as I haif written to my Lord D'Ergyle and Huntley to haist them to your reliefe, doinge all the hinder and euil that ye may to the same rebelles and their assistants, to stoppe their retorninge home if it be possible: for they will be reddy before you, giffe ye not haist, sua ye be convenit all in anie convention, not fearinge that I sall discharge your proceedings as I did before: and this ye sall shaw and cause publicke proclaming by opyn proclamation,—the foresaid conspiracie and tressone, which the said rebells has conspyrit against me, myn autoritie and my sonne; the comon weill of the realme of Scotland; intendinge to putt the same to execution, giffe they be not stoppit in tyme. Therefore I pray you with diligence to stoppe thame this wynter all that ye may, and I doubt not but in springe tyme of the yeir we sall haife sufficient by our frendes.

[9 December, 1568.]

1568. *December* 9. Murray produces before the English commissioners the love-letters and sonnets attributed to Mary Stuart.

A Paper, signed by the Earl of Murray, testifying that certain letters, and papers, and sonnets, found in a silver castor were written by the queen.

Quhare as for verification of the eik or additions to our aunswere putit by we agains the accusation

of our adversaries, concernyng the murther of..... Henry of gude memorie our soveraine Lordis dearest fader, we have producit divers missive lettres, sonets, obligations, or garantis for marriage betwix the quene moder our said soveraine and James sometyme erle bothuile, as written or subscribed by his hand, which we interceptit and come to our hands closit within a silver box, in sic manner as is already manifest and declarit. And we be the tennor hereof testifies avowis and affirmis uponn our honor and..... That the saidis missive writings sonets obligations or contracts ar undubtedly the said quens proper hand write, except the contract in scottis of the dait at Seyton, the fifthe day of Aprile 1567, written to the erle of Huntley, which also we understand and perfectly knaw to be subscribed be her hand, will take the same uponn our honor and conscience, as is before said. In witnes quharof have subscribed theis pnts with our hands at Westminster the x day of December, the year of God im vc threescore aucht yeris.

JAMES REGENT.
ORCHARDLEGH.

Dumformlim, 12 December, 1568.

Exhibited by John Wood of Hampton Court, in Parliament, Ld. Keeper, D. of Norfolk. Mq. of Hertford, Earls Bedford, Leicester, L. Admyrall. Wm. Cecill. Ral Ludlow. Walter Mildmay.

Queen Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots.

Madame, while your cause hath bene here treated upon, we thought it not nedefull to write any thing thereof unto you, supposing alwaies that your commissioners wolde therof aduertise as they sawe cause. And now sithen they hawe broken this conference, by refusing to make answer as they say by your commaundement, and for that purpose they returne to you; although we thinke you shall by them perceeve the whole proceedings: yet we cannot but let youe understand by these our lettres, that as we have been very sorry of long time for your mishappes and great troubles, so find we our sorrowes now dubled in beholding such thinges as are produced, to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief herein is also increased, in that we did not think at any time to have seen or hard such maters of so greate apparaunce and moment to chardge and condempne youe. Nevertheles, both in frindship, nature and justice we are moved to couer these maters, and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sence thereof to your preiudice, before we may hear of your direct aunswer thereunto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which at their request is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will aduise youe for your honour to agree to make aunswer, as we have mentioned them, so surely we cannot but as

one Prince and nere cousin regarding another, moost earnestlye as we may in terms of friendship, require and chardge you not to forbeare from answering. And for our parte as we are heartely sorry, and dismaide to find such mater of your chardge; and although we doubt not but you are well certified of the diligence and care of your ministers having your commission, yet can we not besides an allowance generally of them, especially note to you your good choice of this bearer the Bishoppe of Ross, who hath not only faithfully and wisely, but also so carefully and dutifully, for your honor and weale behaved himself, and that both privately and publickly, as we cannot but in this sorte commende him unto youe, as we wish you had many such devoted discrete seruuants. For in our iudgement, we thinke we have not any that in loyaulty and faithfulnes can overmatche him. And this we are the bolder to write, considering we take it the best triall of a good seruante to be in aduersitie, out of which we wish you to be deliuered by the iustification of your innocency.

And so trusting to hear shortly from you we make an ende. Geven at Hampton Court under our Signet the xxith. of December 1568, in the Leauenthe year of our Reigne.

Your good sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH.

1569. *January* 7. The Bishop of Ross demands a copy of the papers attributed to the Queen of Scots, on the part of his mistress, and accuses Murray, Morton, &c. of the murder of Darnley.

January 10. Elizabeth declares that nothing has been proved on either side, and puts an end to the conferences.

January 13. The Bishop of Ross protests against the validity of any acts that Mary Stuart may be forced to sign, so long as she shall not enjoy her liberty; and repeats the assurance that she will never consent to resign her crown, which Elizabeth had several times proposed to her to do.

January —. Murray, Maitland, and even Leicester persuade the Duke of Norfolk to persevere in his project for marrying Mary Stuart.

The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I know not what occasion I can have given to any of this company, or at least of your kingdom, that they should endeavour to persuade you (as it appears to me, by your letter), of a thing so distant from my thoughts, whereof my conduct has borne witness. Madam, I came to you in my trouble for succour and support, on the faith of the assurance that I might reckon upon you for every assistance in my necessity; and, for this reason, I refrained from applying for any other aid to friends, relatives, and ancient allies; relying solely upon your promised favour. I have never attempted, either by word or deed, aught to the contrary, and nobody can lay to my charge any thing against you. Still, to my unspeakable regret, I see my actions falsely represented and construed; but I hope that God and time, the father

of truth, will declare otherwise, and prove to you the sincerity of my intentions towards you.

In the mean time, I am treated so rigorously that I cannot comprehend whence proceeds the extreme indignation which this demonstrates that you have conceived against me, in return for the confidence which I have placed in you, in preference to all other princes, and the desire I have shown to obtain your favour. I cannot but deplore my evil fortune, seeing you have been pleased not only to refuse me your presence, causing me to be declared unworthy of it by your nobles; but also suffered me to be torn in pieces by my rebels, without even making them answer to that which I had alleged against them; not allowing me to have copies of their false accusations, or affording me any liberty to accuse them. You have also permitted them to retire, with a decree in a manner absolving and strengthening them in this usurped so-called regency, and have thrown the blame upon me, and covertly condemned me without giving me a hearing, detained my ministers, caused me to be removed by force, without informing me what has been resolved upon respecting my affairs; why I am to be transferred to another abode; how long I am to remain there; how I shall be treated there; or for what reason I am confined; and all support and my requests refused.

All these things, along with other petty annoyances, such as not permitting me to receive news from my relatives in France, nor from my servants on my private necessities, having in like manner anew interdicted all communication with Scotland, nay, refused me leave to give any commission to one of my servants, or to send my letters by them, grieve me so sorely and make me to tell you the truth, so timid and irresolute, that I am at a loss how to act, nor can I resolve upon obeying so sudden an order to depart, without first receiving some news from my commissioners; not that this place is a whit more agreeable than any other which you may be pleased to assign; when you have made me acquainted with your good will towards me, and on what conditions.

Wherefore, madam, I entreat you not to think that I mean any offence, but a natural care which I owe to myself and my people, to wish to know the end before disposing of myself so lightly, I mean voluntarily; for I am in your power, and you can, in spite of me, command even the lowest of your subjects to sacrifice me without my being able to do any thing but appeal to God and you, for other support I have none; and, thank God, I am not so silly as to suppose that any of your subjects concern themselves about the affairs of a poor, forlorn, foreign princess, who, next to God, seeks

your aid alone, and, if my adversaries tell you any thing to the contrary, they are false and deceive you; for I honour you as my elder sister, and, notwithstanding all the grievances above mentioned, I shall be ever ready to solicit, as of my elder sister, your friendship before that of any other. Would to God you would grant it me, and treat me as I should wish to deserve in your place! When this shall come to pass, I shall be happy; if not, God grant me patience, and you his grace! And here I will humbly recommend myself to yours, praying God to grant you, madam, health and a long and happy life.

From Boton, this xxii of January [1568-9].

Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1569. *End of January.* Elizabeth, suspecting some intrigues, and distrustful of Lord Scrope, whose wife was the Duke of Norfolk's sister, suddenly removes the Queen of Scots from Bolton to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and places her in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

April —. Mary is removed to Wingfield, and stays there five months.

June —. Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester, address her on the subject of the projected marriage. She consents, on condition that they obtain her divorce from Bothwell.

September 21. Mary returns from Wingfield to Tutbury.

October 10. Murray having apprised Elizabeth of all that had been planned in favour of her rival, Norfolk is apprehended.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, wishing to exercise to the utmost the patience which it has pleased God to bestow on me in my adversity, I have refrained, as long as possible, from importuning you with my complaints, trusting that time, the father of truth, and your own good disposition, would lead you to perceive the malice of my enemies, who strive to trample me to the earth, and move you to pity one of your own blood—your equal; who, next to God, has chosen you from among all other princes for her refuge, confiding in your favourable letters and kind promises, strengthened by the ties of consanguinity and near neighbourhood, so that I have placed myself voluntarily, and without constraint, in your hands and power, where I have remained above two years, sometimes in hopes of your favour and support from your courteous letters, at others, driven to despair by the underhand dealings and the false reports of my enemies.

Nevertheless, my affection for you has always led me to hope for the best, and to suffer my wrongs patiently; but now that you listen to the malice of my rebels, as the Bishop of Ross informs me, refusing to hear the just complaint of her who has placed herself voluntarily in your power, and thrown herself into your arms, I have presumed

once more to try my fortune, and to appeal to the queen my good sister herself. Ah, madam, what stronger proof of my friendship can I offer than in thus putting my trust in you! And in return, will you destroy the hope which is placed in you by your sister and cousin, who neither can nor sought to obtain succour elsewhere? Shall my confidence in you be disappointed, my patience prove vain, and the friendship and respect I cherish for you, be despised to such a degree that I cannot obtain what you could not justly refuse to the greatest stranger in the world. I have never offended you; but have loved and honoured you, and tried by all means to please you, and to assure you of my kind disposition towards you. False reports have been made to you about me, which you have credited so far as to treat me, not as a queen and relative, come to seek support of you under your promise of favour, but as a prisoner, to whom you can impute the offence of a subject.

Since, madam, I cannot obtain permission to declare to you, face to face, my sincerity towards you, at least permit Monsieur de Rosse, my ambassador, to give you an account of my public as well as private deportment, as he has on many occasions witnessed the grief I feel at not knowing wherein I have offended you, and on being compelled to repeat my old requests, respecting which

I beg you to answer him and me too, namely, that it may please you, according to my first requests, to oblige me for ever, by assisting me with your support to recover the state to which it has pleased God to call me among my subjects, as you have always promised; or if consanguinity, my affection for you, and my long patience, should not seem to you to deserve this, at least do not refuse me the liberty to depart, as freely as I came, and retire either to France or elsewhere, among my friends and allies; or should it please you to use rigour, and treat me as an enemy (which I have never been to you, nor desire to be), allow me to redeem myself from my miserable imprisonment by ransom, as is the custom among all princes, even those who are enemies, and give me opportunity to negociate with the said princes, my friends and allies, for raising the said ransom.

And, meanwhile, I entreat you, as I have entrusted my person to you, and offered in all things to follow your counsel, that I may not be injured by the extortions of my rebels against my faithful subjects, and that I may not be weakened, for having relied on your promises, by the loss of Donbertran.

And if the false reports of my enemies prevent you from bestowing any consideration on these points and my humble requests, and you are re-

solved to take amiss all I have done, with the intention of pleasing you, at least do not permit my life to be endangered without having deserved it; although the Abbot of Donfermelin has spread a report, and boasted that it is your intention, which I cannot believe, to put me into the hands of my rebel subjects, or other such in that country whom they equally approve of, and with whom I am not acquainted. I protest that I have never had the wish to offend you, or to do any thing which could displease you; nor have I merited the cruel return of being so slighted, as the Bishop of Rosse has already assured you, and will do again, if you but please to grant him an audience. Wherefore, I beseech you most humbly, and as above, to acquaint him with your determination; if not out of affection, let it be out of pity. You have experienced what it is to suffer affliction; you may thence judge what others suffer from it.

You have listened long enough to my enemies and their inventions to make you suspicious of me; it is time to consider what are their motives for this, and their double dealing towards me, and what I am to you, and the affection towards you which has induced me to come to a place where you have such power over me. Call to mind the offers of friendship which you have made me, and the friendship which you have promised me, and

how much I wish to please you, insomuch as to have neglected the support of other princes, by your advice and on the promise of yours. Forget not the rights of hospitality in my case alone, and weigh all this with the respect of your confidence, honour, and pity for one of your own blood, and then I trust I shall have no occasion to repent me.

Consider also, madam, what place I have filled, and how I was brought up, and, if experiencing, by means of my rebels or other enemies, so different a treatment from that, from hands from which I hoped for every comfort, how ill I can support such a burden, added to that of your displeasure, which is hardest of all to bear, which I have never deserved; nor to be so closely imprisoned, that I have no means of receiving intelligence about my affairs, or taking any steps whatever for settling them, or consoling in the least such of my faithful subjects as are suffering on my account. Far am I from supporting them as I hoped. Again I beseech you, let not the false reports and malicious designs of my enemies make you forget so many other points in my favour; and, lastly, if nothing else can move your natural pity, despise not the prayers of the kings, my good brothers and allies, to whose ambassadors I have written, begging

them to make urgent intercession with you in my behalf.

And that you may not take it amiss, I entreat you to excuse me, if, in case you will not listen to your natural kindness and pity, for which I have loved and honoured you so much, I beg them to inform the said kings of my necessity, and to solicit them to lend that aid in my affairs which I have expected from you, and which I now crave from you before any other. If you are pleased to grant it me, as I hope, you will find in the end that I have never deserved to lose it. If in this, or in any point of my letter, I offend you, excuse it, on account of the extreme urgency of my cause, and the infinite trouble that I am in.

I conclude, by referring to the Bishop of Rosse, who will give you every information, and beg you to credit him as myself, who present my humble recommendations, praying God to make you thoroughly acquainted with both my intention and my conduct.

From Tutbury, this x of November [1569].

Your very kind and affectionate
Sister and cousin,

MARY R.

I beg you to excuse me if I write ill, for my imprisonment makes me unwell, and less capable of this or any other employment.

1569. *November* 16. Commencement of the insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland; they march for Tutbury to deliver the Queen of Scots, but on the first rumour of these movements she is conveyed to Coventry.

November —. The Privy Council proposes to put Mary Stuart to death; Elizabeth is afraid to consent, but proposes to give her up to Murray.

December 16. The Earl of Sussex, with the aid of the Earl of Warwick, disperses the insurgents, and their leaders take refuge in Scotland. The Earl of Northumberland is imprisoned at Lochleven.

1570. *January* —. Mary Stuart is brought back to Tutbury.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Tuthbury, this — January, 1570.

Monsieur de Glascow, be not surprised if I do not write to you often, either myself, or by any other hand; being obliged to leave all my letters open, and having but one secretary who, during the short time that my attendants are allowed to remain with me, is fully occupied in writing to the Bishop of Rosse, who gives you, I expect, from time to time, information of the state of my affairs, which I should do had I but permission to write everything to you or to him, or to say to Monsieur de Monloe;[f] I cannot, therefore, say more at present, than express my entire satisfac-

[f] M. de Montlovet, an envoy sent by the King of France to solicit the liberation of Mary. This envoy and the French ambassador in London obtained an audience of Queen Elizabeth, who peremptorily refused their request either to release her, or to permit them to see her, or to proceed into Scotland.

tion with your pains and solicitude in my affairs, which I beg you will continue to take, assuring you that you will not find me an ungrateful mistress.

I desire you will hasten the affair of Douglas;[g] for I should be sorry to have it laid to my charge that so important a service as that which he has rendered me should be ill-rewarded; such services are not met with every day. As you were much pleased at the result of it, prove yourself his friend in this and in other matters, and be indulgent to the few faults you may find in him. In doing this for him, you will open the door to your brother to hope for his reward also for the service rendered to the same effect. You must consider that he has lost all his friends. Here I shall pray God to grant you, Monsieur de Glascow, a long and happy life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1570. *January* 28. Murray is assassinated at Linlithgow, and the Earl of Lennox succeeds him as Regent of Scotland.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Rosse.

Reverend Father in God, and right trustie counsellor, we greet you well. We receivet of

[g] George Douglas, brother to the Governor of Lochleven, who assisted the queen to escape from that prison.

your lres be the — and — by James Burre, whom we despechit the 27th of the month toward Scotland, but be reason of our slawe convalescence furth of this sicknes and debilitie remayned in us there thoro, we could not write to youe nor..... againe privatlie, then we have written anie lres with our own hand to the queene our good sister, albeit for the said cause of our infirmitie, it be but shorte wherof we have send youe the dawbill and principall closit. The credit referred to you there by is that seeinge this treaty has bene already so longe without the finishing of any good working, and of near two months time, for resolution taking in all our causes, which terme is also near expired; and having na worde nor seeing na appearance of the commissioners coming to treate for our rebells parte wherupon the haill matter we perceyve is staied, to pray most effectuously the queene our good sister in our name not to awaite one their arrivall, but in all possible dilligence to proceede and conclude with us: for if so she does not, we will to looke for na other thing but contynuall delaies to dryve over this somer season amonges the rest, that our rebelles in the mean tyme may strengthen themselfes the more for the wraicke of our good subiectes who may otherwise prepare for their own defence. Which our said good sister muste ..... if we se no furtherance to be had at

her hand neither of our restitution nor for the releife of our said good subjects, that we solecit and ayde them to procure their support at other princes our friends and allys, and for our part, to abyden God's pleasure and hers.

In the meantyme therefore we wold that you, my Lord of Galloway, and Levingston, knawing the small moyen we have not only for your enterteynment and theirs, but for our own, which in you may perceyve we spare expences in many wayes; should like manner for absteyne from superfluous chargis specially in reteining over great treyne of servaunts and ymprofitable horses: that the number thereof exceed not over will be shewin to you at your departing here from, for in consideracon of the little conditions we have of any parte and in like manner of our good subiects extreme handling, there can be no dishonour neither to us nor them, albeit no gret brauetie be used douringe this treatie. And thus referringe the rest to your wisdome, we comit you to the protection of God Almighty.

At Sheffield the vi. of Februarie, 1570.

Your richt good and assured frind,

MARIE R.

Make my commendacons to my Lord of Leicester and Mr. Cecill, excusing us that we write not them privatlie, because of disposition which

will not permit us. But notwithstanding we hope they will ayde us to have a hastie resolution of the quene our good sister. And also commende us to my Lords of Galloway and Livingstone, havinge no other thinge to write to theme at this tyme.

Memorandum by the Queen of Scots about sending Rudolphi to Spain.

By dispatches I haue ..... y^e^ dayes by past conteaning sondry ..... memories that for the prolixite of the same and to spare the hazard of the delay I wold not send ..... you counsell at this tyme, but I haue m^s^ket ..... affections, w^h^ as I haue collected briefly, and therunto set myn opinion, to the effect I may understand and follow R. (Duke of Norfolk) good advyse over yours.

The appointment that is agatward between the V. (Queen of England) and me is to G. (France) by exterior demonstrations the which being wisely considered rather to be for their exempting of the support required of them, ... any great will they have the same should take effect, onles it be ..... I have in this contree, for fear that my ambassador shold succede to well. The purpose of V. (Q. of Eng^d^) marriage with Mons^r^ D'Aniou, wherunto care is given in the A. (King of F.) fr king's counsell, is nothing to my advantage, by this

meanes ..... will divert all succours and support that I may looke for of G. (France), and ..... of that which is proposed touching the league in y^e^ end apointment is ye ..... that maketh them flatter, and seke V. (Q. of E.), temporising with her of the overture of the duke's marriage albeit they looke not for it.

Lykewise G. (France) fynds good y^e^ D. (Q. of Scots) marriag with R. (Duke of Norfolk) to y^e^ w^e^ y^e^ extreme jalousy Don John de Austria brought them, being surly advertised that if he thought I were inclined to y^t^ side, they would embrace my rebelles playnly against me. And if they did see things in such termes ..... were no more meane w^t^ y^e^ Duke John, they would not faile to impute that they cold D. (Q. of Scots) marriag w^t^ R. (D. of Norfolk) which presently they make shew to desire.

B. (D. D'Alua) hath declared openly he is of opinion that if the former appointment has effect, it shalbe to my destruction and ruin, wherupon it may be that peradventure he wold see y^e^ controversies of the K. of Spaine his master reconciled w^t^ V. (Q. of England) before any other accord. But methinke this is y^e^ principall occasion that moueth him not to desire + I.. apointment; y^e^ deliverie of my sonne his person in y^e^ V. (Q. of E.) handes, and exposition of my owne hazard to

fawle againe under the power of my cruell rebells, and susteyned and fortified by V. (Q. of. E.) in all their wickednes, taketh all esperance away from him of any establishment of y^e^ Catholique religion with assurance of his masters estat, specially in the Low Contrees. All the advises y^t^ comes from the sea parts tendes to pursuade me to fynd the meane to escape furth of the contree. And as to the place of my retraite in y^t^ cas they fynd not good, that I enter into Ts. (Scotland) without forces, for to enclose myselfe in a fortres I shalbe in daunger to remayn there without succors. And in y^e^ meantyme my rebels continuing in their usurped authoritie, I may fall in such inconveniences, that before I be supported, the place must be rendered by hunger or otherwise. And to keep y^e^ field witliout the favor of my good and obedient subiects, I shall be constreyned to susteyn battell, wherof the issue may be perillous for me, for notwithstanding the + reason y^t^ is to be feared, my rebells may haue such and so prompt favor, that they might be made y^e^ strongest partie, before I gett any meane to have foren ayde. To retire myself into Fraunce, albeit I have friends, and rents there the place w^e^ I held, y^e^ stat I am reduced into, and that wherein things of Fraunce dependeth partly are sufficient consideracons to cause the desire pass from me to remayn there. And to

think for to obtayne succors in those parts, to retorne and establish myself in my own realme, the affaires y^t y^e K. of Fraunce is within his own contree, and the appearance there is of new affections shall not permit him althowgh he wold to help me. And in y^e meane while the jalousie of y^e King of Spayne wold take to see me take y^t way wold be occasion to make him retyre himself wholly from me. And so I shold remayn destitut of all sydes.

There rests furthermore Spayne where I may save myself, and have succours of the King of Spayne, a prince full of pitie, and y^t his contrees whole quiett and flourishing, out of y^e w^c meanes may be easily drawen. As to Flaunders the negotiation wold not be so comodious nor expedicious in absence, as in my presence. And therefore they are of advise y^t I should pass the highway to Spayne, where I may treat with my frend the King of Spayne myself, and obteyne promptly of him more nor I cold in a long tyme by the ambassadour or deputes, alleging, the goodnes, conscience, and uprigteousness of him may be pledg for the surety of my person. And whatsoeuer I accord to him I need not feare y^t he wold usurpe the same upon my states. To speke truly I have better hope to be supported by that syde nor by any other way. And in what sort that ever it be,

me think it is nedeful to follow that part. And therefore wold be of advise to send som faithful man towards y^e^ King of Spayne, whom he might trust, to make him understand of the state of my realme and of this also; the friends y^t^ I have here took deliberations, and the meanes they may haue to sett themselves in the fieldes, and raise them for me, if y^e^ said King of Spayne will susteyne and embrace my causes and theirs.

The last Q. of Spaine, who resteth with God, a little before her death wrote a very amiable letter to me, w^c^ I believe was not without the knowledg and good pleasure of the King her husband, by the w^c^ she promised to me the marriag of my sonne w^t^ one of her daughters. And y^t^ y^t^ her husband desired instantly to have my sonne in his hands, to make him be nourrished, and instructed in the Catholique religion. Ther hath bene toched to me from diuers places of y^e^ marriag of John of Austria, to y^e^ w^c^ I esteme y^t^ y^e^ King of Spayne wold ..... have me to consent.

As to my sonne, me think that both his suerty and myn shold be y^t^ ..... in Spayne for som yeres, forth of daungers, and perills that may be during his infancie in this isle. His absence wold cutt the way of the sayd trobles, my rebells fynding them selues desolat of y^e^ coverture and pretext of his name. And to y^e^ marriag of the sayd Don John of

Austria, albeit that I will heare nothing therof, ye King of Spayne may not leaue to succour and embrace my causes, so being that he may be assured that they shall not be separated from religion, and that he whome I marry hold ye same course. And albeit ye King of Spayne wold haue no will to, yet ye Pope will write to him the same, and hold hand to him in that cause, and for his owne part employe of his proper goods therupon, yea, even his own cape.

I think that Rodolphi may best acquitt himselfe of this charge ..... of any yt I know. Under colour of his own trafique, and being knowen as he is, the King of Spaine and ye Pope will give him ..... and creditt yt wc shall be proposed by him to them. And also his intelligence of the affairs of this contree and my realme, and by the ..... one that he shall take R. (D. of Norfolk) and of frends, he may answer to the objections yt shall be made to him. He sent me a memorye, by the wc he describes the personages, such he thinketh are required, unnaming any man. For my part, I know not of whom to make election, less nor it be of him. The feare they haue on yonder syde that R. (D. of Norf.) will remayn protestant stayes and holdeth all things in suspence, and maketh that my propre servaunts, and ministers, what to belieue to fauour his disgres are suspect in

such sort, that they wold not that they shold haue any knowledg of it, that shall be practised here among them, to take away wholly y^e^ sayd suspicion, and accomode y^e^ whole to the contentment and satisfaction of the sayd King of Spayne and Pope. I see no other meane but to assure them of R. (D. of N.), for it is the knott of the matter, and on y^e^ w^c^ resolution must be taken, otherwise not to look for any succors of them, but by the contrary, all the traverses y^t^ they may manage by the meanes of the Catholiques of this contree, in whome is my whole esperance, to impeech the marriag, w^c^ this only respect of religion makes them to feare.

The negotiation must be holden very secret, and that Rodolphi keep him selfe well, that he make no semblance therof in G. (France), nor yet to seme to medle in any wise in my affaires, for the jalousie that is betwixt G. (France) and y^e^ King of Spaine, wold be occasion that there shold not be a stone but it shold be removed for to break all, and occasion to cause advaunce y^e^ marriag of V. (Q. of E.) and Mons^r^ D'Aniou, if it be a thing that shold be, or any effect may procede the same.

The season requires diligence and celeritie, and there where if the R. (D. of N.) thinks the voyage of the sayd Rodolphi good, I am of advise it be rather sooner nor later, and not to tyne upon tyme. I remitt to R.'s (D. of N.) wisdome to

dispatch, and make him depart, when he thinketh good. At ..... y^e viiith of Febr 1570.

This copie being conferred word by word with the originall copie, is agreeing in all points w^t y^e sayd originall. This xth of January, 1671.

RO. HIGFORD.

This is a highly important document, proving, without the shadow of doubt, that Mary had made up her mind to marry the Duke of Norfolk, if he would turn Catholic, and to reject the suit of Don John of Austria, though supported by the King of Spain. It shows, moreover, in contradiction to the assertion of some of her biographers, that the queen was seriously planning the means of escaping from the clutches of her "good sister," that she had fixed upon Spain for her retreat, and entertained hopes of obtaining a Spanish princess in marriage for her son, whom she purposed to take with her, and to bring up in the Catholic religion. Her hostility to the proposed match between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou is also expressed here without reserve, as she naturally concluded that, if it were to take place, she herself would have nothing more to expect from France.

The editor of the collection of original letters entitled, "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," alluding to the plots detected about this time against the life of that sovereign and the Protestant government in England, says that the most active agents in these designs were "one Ridolphi, a Florentine, who was commissioned by the Pope into England 'to sow sedition,' and the Bishop of Ross, for his mistress the Queen of Scots." We learn from a letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury's to Burleigh, dated the 18th of May, 1571, that Mary, on being questioned about this Ridolphi, denied having written to, or received any letters from, a person of that name.

Miss Benger, who, in her "Life of the Queen of Scots," calls this man Ridolpho, says—"By the agency of the fanatical Felton, a bull of excommunication, pronounced against Elizabeth by Pius V. was affixed to the walls of Lambeth palace; whilst, by the intervention of Ridolpho, a Florentine merchant, a scheme was simultaneously formed for restoring the Catholic religion, and deposing the Protestant queen. It was proposed by Ridolpho, whom Mary re-

commended to the Duke of Norfolk, that the Spaniards should invade England with ten thousand men; but while he was in Flanders, negotiating the affair with the Duke of Alva, an account of the conspiracy was transmitted to Elizabeth. Copies of his letters being found in the Duke of Norfolk's possession, that nobleman was arraigned and finally executed."

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Tuthbury, 30th April (1570).

Monsieur de Glascow, I would not for the world neglect things of importance to me, or which concern my duty to God and my honour; and hence it is that, seeing an army in my country, and a most injurious proclamation issued against me, I have risked this despatch to the King, monsieur my good brother, and to the Queen, and to all my relatives, wherein I have recommended you to them, and begged them to afford you the best means for applying yourself to my affairs. I therefore inform you of this, that you may act accordingly; and, whatever may come of it, I beg you on no account to be absent from Court at a time so important as this, but to urge warmly the promised support.

The rest I write to you in cipher, but this I wished to signify with my own hand, to inform you of the need that I and mine have of prompt assistance. In short, make one last effort for your Queen and good mistress, your country and kin

dred, and, after me, for your future prince. The Bishop of Ross has informed me of a deanery which I have given him to keep him in my service, for he has nothing whatever in Scotland. I beg him to get this matter settled forthwith, and desire that George[h] be despatched from London without difficulty, for his services merit it, and the good example he has set is important at this moment. James and Baron are in my employ, and are not gone to him but with a promise to be alway faithful to me. It is, therefore, my intention that their wages be paid them, about which you will give directions to my treasurer; and the same in regard to Henri Kir in quality of secretary; and I shall be very glad when Roullet returns, and send me, if you can obtain it, a passport for Thomas Levingston to come to serve me; for should Crafurd go abroad, and I think he will, I shall not have any gentlemen-attendants left, and they will not permit any to come to me from Scotland. So, referring to my cipher, and what you will hear from the bearer of this, I will conclude, praying God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

[h] George Douglas.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Sheffield Castle, May 13th [1570].

Monsieur de Glascow, George Douglas having obtained permission to visit me, and make his apologies, and to beg that I would arrange his affairs in such manner as I may judge proper, provided that what I have given be secured to him, should I think he merits it, or at least, that he may be put to the proof if he has ever offended me, explaining that what he wrote to me had no other object than to let me know that, rather than I should doubt his fidelity, or before he would seek an appointment without my leave, he would relinquish all that I had given or might give him. I have been very glad to afford him an opportunity to state his reasons, from the desire I have that he should give me as much occasion to be a good mistress to him in future, and from the pleasure I shall feel in recompensing the great and signal service which he has done me, and which, he says, he wishes to continue to do me as long as he lives, of which I have no doubt: and in consequence of this, I have not only favourably received his excuses and justifications, but relieved him from all fear that I shall ever listen to any report to his disadvantage, without first hearing him. I inform you of this, purposely that you may cause him to be paid quarterly, as usual, wherever he may be, according to the capacity under

which he is entered, notwithstanding the commands I formerly gave you and others to the contrary.

I have likewise written to Kir to come here and excuse himself for the fault I have found with him. Let me hear from you by him, and give me an explanation on the following point:—George tells me that he cannot conclude the marriage he has so long contemplated with La Verrière, without being assured of having the gift I made him; and as I heard that there are difficulties in this affair, and M. the Cardinal, my uncle, was of opinion I ought to give him twenty-five thousand francs down, and pay him the remainder by yearly instalments, he returning me the deed of gift, I asked his opinion of this, and he is perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, or any other that you may recommend, as he has found you his good friend in time of need; and he prides himself on this and on your good advice, which I am very glad of, and I beg you to continue to befriend him in his affairs, which he places entirely in your hands; and he has requested me to recommend him to you, which I do most willingly.

You must take this trouble for him. In the first place, he begs you will endeavour to arrange with the mother and daughter, and ascertain their decision, and if, on the aforesaid conditions they are satisfied with the match, you must prevail upon them to receive the twenty-five thousand francs, though,

to obtain this sum, you are even obliged to settle the lawsuit, for which I was formerly offered, at the first word, forty thousand francs. Although I must make a sacrifice to settle it, yet I must give him what I have promised; endeavour, therefore, to get me out of this—a debt which the service he rendered imposes upon me. Receive the money for him, and place it in the *maison de la ville*, or where you may agree with the parents of the girl. I have written on the subject to my uncle the cardinal, and beg you to solicit him to send the deed, or the money. For my own part, I had rather that it should be placed in George's name, than have any more trouble respecting it; in short, my wish is, either that the twenty thousand francs be immediately assigned to him upon the *maison de la ville*, or that he should make what profit he can by the lawsuit, if the relatives of the girl be agreeable. Inform me, by Henry Kir, what are the difficulties in this affair, so that I may take steps for its final settlement. Meanwhile, he will wait in London for your reply, as also that about his affairs in Scotland, respecting which I have written, and whither he is desirous to make a journey, which I shall advise or prevent, according to the answer which I shall have from you. If you can find yourself any one willing to treat about this lawsuit, send him to me. I recommend to you the management of his matri-

monial and other affairs; if you cannot bring the former to a favourable conclusion, let me know the long and the short of it as soon as you possibly can, for I shall wait till I hear from you before I send him back.

As respects myself, my health is but very indifferent. I am strictly guarded, and without any means of arranging my affairs, either here, or in Scotland, or abroad, unless M. de la Mothe, by command of the king, takes pity upon me. I have but just thirty persons—men, women, servants, and officers—as you will perceive by the list and the new orders, which will show whether I am a prisoner or not.

Roullet has a continual fever, which is the reason why I cannot write to you more at length, which would be troublesome to me just now. Several of my people are ill; so is also M. de Ross, and so he hears nothing about my affairs, and my people are badly treated, as M. de Ross will inform you. I beg you will represent all this to the king, the queen his mother, and messieurs his brothers, requesting they will send some one to speak in my behalf.

Awaiting your reply to this by Kir, I will conclude by recommending myself to your favour, and praying God to grant you a long and happy life.

Send me a physician, consulting Lusgerie, to whom

I beg you to remember me; and as regards your own affairs, tell me what you think would suit you, and I will write immediately to support you, for I am aware of your necessities.

I had forgotten to tell you that, as to the order for a thousand francs, which is in your hands, you must retain eight hundred, and give the remainder to Kir, for the purpose of paying his debts. I have also granted him another thousand, by virtue of a letter I have written to my treasurer, and which will serve as an order until such time as you send one for my signature, also for the purpose of paying his debts there; these two thousand francs must be deducted from the gift which I made him. I beg you will not fail doing this; and for your security, this present, signed by my hand, must suffice until you send me an order, as I fear my treasurer will not honour any but written orders.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

If M. the cardinal is at too great a distance, send him my letters by some one, and forward to me his answer, and meanwhile, let me know by Kir, what is your opinion, and what will be the best and safest means of securing his money, and the most convenient manner for me to pay it.

1570. *May* —. Mary Stuart arrives at Chatsworth, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in Derbyshire.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke de Nemours.

To my cousin Monsieur the Duke of Nemours,

My cousin, if I had the means of writing to you as often as I desire, I should not have been so long without soliciting my relatives and good friends, like yourself, by letter, not to forget me and my affairs, and to commend myself to your kind remembrance. But since this is not the case, I do not wish to importune you with long letters, for about my affairs, up to this time, I know so little, all intelligence being withheld from me, that I can say I live in the faith of my relations, as the bearer of this will be able to testify to you. Referring you to him, after kissing your hands, I will pray God to grant you, my cousin, health and a long and happy life.

From Chateisworth, this last day of May,

Your very affectionate and good cousin,

MARY.

Instructions of Charles IX. to M. de Poigny.

The king, wishing to make known to his good sister, the Queen of England, the particular desire he has of continuing, by every means in his power, the good and perfect friendship which has always subsisted between their majesties, their kingdoms,

countries, and subjects, and by the same means to maintain and confirm his ancient alliance, friendship, and confederation with the kingdom of Scotland, and the sincere affection which he entertains for the Queen his sister-in-law, has been pleased, by these presents, to despatch the Sieur de Poigny, gentleman in ordinary of his bedchamber, to the Queen of England, to communicate to her verbally his warm approbation of every thing which his ambassador, M. de la Mothe-Fenelon, has done and treated of with her, and of all the negotiations they have had together regarding the pacification of the kingdom of Scotland, the withdrawing her forces which she had sent thither, and the release of the said Queen of Scotland, his sister-in-law, that she may command and be obeyed in her said kingdom, as by right and equity belongs to her.

The king, in consideration of the ancient alliance and friendship which have so long subsisted between the kings, his predecessors, and those of Scotland and their kingdoms, believing, moreover, that he cannot do any thing more worthy of his authority, greatness, and reputation, feels bound to support, as he has done, what so nearly touches and belongs to the queen his sister-in-law, and to prevent any such of her subjects as refuse to render her the allegiance and fidelity which they owe her from undertaking any thing contrary to her authority, and to the peace and tranquillity of her kingdom.

As soon as his majesty learned the agreement made between his ambassador and the said Queen of England respecting the recall of her forces from the said kingdom of Scotland, and the restoration of the queen of the said country to liberty, after having, in like manner, recalled his, has thought fit to make an open demonstration of the pleasure and satisfaction which it gave him to see the good understanding which subsists between him and the said Queen of England still further confirmed, and to do the same in regard to the said Queen of Scotland and her kingdom, in order to cherish a true, sincere, and inviolable friendship between himself and the two queens, their kingdoms, countries and subjects, as the said Sieur de Poigny can testify, on the part of his majesty, to the said Queen of England; not forgetting to represent to her the ardent desire his said majesty has of seeing this negotiation, which has been commenced so favourably, concluded to the content and satisfaction of the said kings and queens, wishing that the said Sieur de Poigny should attend and be present, if the said Sieur de la Mothe considers his presence to be necessary.

In the like manner, he will go and visit, on the part of his majesty, the said Queen of Scotland, and inform her of the motive of his journey.

This done, he is to proceed to Scotland, where he will wait, in the name of his majesty, not only

on the prince, but on the dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen, and others, having authority in the said country; but particularly on those who have been well-affected to the cause of the said Queen of Scotland, representing to them all that his majesty has done for them, and for the maintenance of that good and ancient friendship and alliance which the kings, his predecessors, and himself, have had with the kingdom of Scotland, and for preserving its peace and tranquillity, exhorting each, and all of them, to live and keep in perfect unity with each other, and to render to the queen, his sister-in-law, their natural princess and sovereign, the obedience and fidelity they owe to her.

His majesty orders the said Sieur de Poigny to say more or less than what is herein contained to the Queen of England, according as the said Sieur de la Mothe may deem good, useful, and necessary for the service of his majesty.

Done at Argentan, the nineteenth of June, 1570.

CHARLES.

RUSE.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, Sept. 10th, 1570.

Monsieur de Glascow, I have not had the means of letting you know the extremity to which I am reduced; but the bearers of this, with others banished by force, will tell you. Bastien had like to have been turned out too, but he has been left

me as a matter of favour, being a servant essentially necessary to me, who, in this dreary time, cheers me by the works which he invents—after my books, the only exercise that is left me. He has lived with me in Scotland and here at my request, where he and his wife serve me well and faithfully; but he is burdened with children, and has no support, though his friends have promised him advancement, if he will go to France, wherefore I beg you will look out for some office, or some governorship, where, by his appointing a deputy, some benefit may arise to him, in order that he may not be left destitute in the event of my dying in this prison, and that, during my life, he may have the more courage to share my misfortunes with me. As to the value, I leave it to your own judgment; if you meet with any thing that does not require hard cash, inform me of it; as far as two thousand francs, which can be secured to him, and which I shall consider as well laid out. Not daring to write more, I beg you to give me your opinion, for there is no haste for ready money; but still arrangements must be made for sending this year his wages, as also those of the others who stay with me. Recommending myself to you, I pray God to give you good health and long life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1570. *October* 1. Cecil and Mildmay arrive at Chatsworth to negociate the conditions of Mary's liberation.

To Monsieur de Glascow, my Ambassador in France.

From Chatsworth, the of October.

Monsieur de Glascow, instead of relieving you, as I hoped, by these letters from all anxiety, and assuring you by this despatch of the entire confidence which I place in you, and the satisfaction which it gave me to receive so high a testimony of the sincerity of your conduct, as that given me by the cardinal, my uncle, in his letters, I am obliged, to my extreme regret, to communicate a mournful circumstance, which has caused me the deepest sorrow, as Roullet and others of your good friends can testify. In short, God has at one stroke afflicted you and me, by taking from us your brother, the only minister whom I selected to comfort and counsel me in this my long affliction and banishment from among my good servants and friends. We are bound to praise God for all things, a point on which you can better admonish me than I you, but more especially ought we to praise him, because he died a good christian, a good man, beloved by every one, regretted both by friends and enemies; but, above all, by me, who, having performed the duty of a kind mistress and friend, in

seeing him properly treated and attended to, served as a witness of his good end, solemnizing with my tears the close of his life, and accompanying his soul with my prayers. Now he is happy, and there, whither we must all hope to go, while I am deprived, amidst all my afflictions, of a faithful and tried servant. The sorrow and grief which I know you will feel for his death would make me apprehensive of losing you likewise, so incessant are become the attacks of misfortune, were I not aware of the good sense you possess, and that your fear of God, and your great zeal for my interest, will cause you to submit to His will, and to take care of yourself, in order to serve me.

I have made up my mind to have your other brother about me, and in the same capacity as the deceased, thereby confirming the gift made to the latter, agreeably to his last wish, which he called me to witness. I, therefore, beg you to send him to me, fully instructed as to what you may desire I should do for you and yours, relying upon it that I shall exert myself as zealously as for any servant I have, and more so. He had two of his relatives and servants here; the one named Arelin Bethem, who was formerly with me, and whom, for his sake, I shall be most willing to serve whenever occasion may offer; the other, Thomas Archibald, whom I have taken into my household, and am

equally disposed to serve. If I could do more to show how much I loved and esteemed your late brother, most gladly would I do it.

As to yourself, Roullet can bear witness how little heed I gave to those who wished to lessen you in my good opinion; to prove this to you, I will either make Quantly, on whom all the blame is thrown, confess his fault, for which he shall be rewarded according to his deserts, or give the name of his author, which I shall transmit to M. the cardinal and you, so that you can consult together, and for your satisfaction take such steps as you may consider necessary for your honour, and for making public the high opinion and confidence I have in you, of which I beg you to be assured; and, as a proof that you may not doubt the assurance which I give you of my favour, take all the care you can of yourself, that you may serve me whenever it may please God that I shall return to my country, where I hope to have you near me, as one of the pillars on which I shall found my government.

If this treaty be not soon concluded, I shall be very glad to see you here. In the mean time, I shall write you a full account of my affairs by the bearer of this, whom I beg you will send back as soon as possible with your answer, as there are certain points concerning which it is necessary that I

should have a reply in a month. I have signed an acknowledgment for something that I owe him; I beg you will get his business despatched, and send him back to me forthwith.

Make my apologies to all those to whom I have not written with my own hand; for, since the death of Beton, I have had a complaint in one eye, which is much inflamed, and I think that the pleasure I take in writing to you will not amend it, as you will perceive from the first page.

Now, to conclude, I pray God to comfort you, and to be assured of my good will and gratitude for your good services: and send your brother to me, for I have no one here to attend upon me, and to give orders to my household, and, besides, he belongs to you; though I am sure you have a good friend in Roullet, and a friend in Seyton, who will be as ready in your absence to render you the services of a good friend, as a relation, or any other person that you might have about me, both for the affection which she bears towards all those whom she knows to have been faithful servants to me, and on account of the kindness she feels for her good friends, among whom she reckoned your deceased brother, whose soul may God take into his keeping; and grant consolation to you and to me, an end to my afflictions, or patience to bear them ac-

cording to His good pleasure, to whom be praise, in good or in evil.

Your very kind mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke de Nemours.

October 31, 1570.

My cousin, Monsieur the Duke of Nemours.

My cousin, I had written some letters, which it was my intention to send by Monsieur de Pougny; but they are now old, and still remain by me, not having had an opportunity of forwarding them to him, as I meant to do during his stay in London. I beg to excuse this, which I have not been able to write to you with my own hand, on account of a cold, which has settled in one of my eyes. My ambassador will inform you of the state of my affairs, and I beg you to believe him as you would myself, and to act for me as you may consider that necessity requires. I pray God to give you, cousin, all that you most fondly and fervently desire.

Written at Chathsworth, the last day of October, 1570.

Your very affectionate and loving cousin,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Reuerend father and richt traist counsalor. Wee greet you well. After that our lres was closed . . .

arrived here from Scotland and brought us others, which for the wrongs and extortions we see thereby has been used to our faithful subiects during this treaty, notwithstanding the promises made on all sides of the contrary, we would not stay for sending the . . . to send you the same with diligence, to the effect that, we understanding every thing particularly and at length, he may complayne thereupon to the Queen my sister and desyre restitution and recompence of the evil and spoil y^t. has been made, seeing the King my good brother makes suit at her hands in our favor. That he shall. . . . his ambassador here is not meant bona fide as was promised, desiring him to make instance for recompence as it is said, otherwise to tell you how displeased his master will be in such dealing with us. And send us the sundry letters and other papers again after he has collected the principal points out of the same. We are advertised by the Lord of Lochonwar that he has seen sundry letters of the Earl of Morton written to divers of the rebels which he encourages them with the following. That they take na thought of any thing the Queen of England promises that they think may be to their disadvantage, for he is assured by her in all he does and supposes she seem to wish us restored, she is not minded to do so. But . . . . intends to do nothing for our profit which you may shaw to our good

sister, praying her that we may see and trust the French on the contrary, which we have looked and looking for without longer delay. And that she give no credit to the abbot of Endfor evil reports, who was in haste only to make . . . . . inventions whereby she may . . . . her favour from us. But that she consider equally the sore complaynts of the noblemen our faithful subiects, and make them be recompensed for the wrongs they have sustained with greater security in times ending. And this referring the rest to your wisdom we commit you to God. At Chatsworth the xxi day of November 1570.

Your right good friend and mistress,

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Reverend Father in God and right traist counsellor. We greet thee well. We have understood that the Earl of Lennox pursues not only our subiects both in body and in goods by any hostility guised under colour of law, but also presumes to spoilye us of certain iewels, yea of the best we have . . . . in sum particular hands in keeping whom he tormented therefore by imprisonment, boasting and other unlawful . . . . . He has imprisoned Iohn Seimpill because he refused to delyver to him those that he kept and we know not by what tytill or

raison he has to crave the same. He shall make the Queene our good sister understand thereby the extortions conforme to the particular advices he hath receavit, praying her that they be not used under her shaddow and favor, as our subiects that are wronged (knowing that the said Erle of Lennox . . . . . and assured that he dare not for his life take sic things in hand aganis our said gud sesters pleasare) interpretes and spoiles it openly, not only among them selfis; but ar deliberat to publishe the same through all Christendome, and cheifly to those princes unto whom they se thameselfes constreayned to shaw their doloures and implore theire ayde and secouresse. As to our own part, we cannot be perswadit but these thinges are wrought against our owne good sisters intention who (we will never believe) would consent to sic mischevous and so manifest fraude as may be sene in that which the said Erle of Lennox promesit during the space accordit for the abstinence which of he has observit nathing in effect. But be the contrare he executed more evil will then he wald do be oppin hostilitie when men might hold themselfes on their gardes. This is not sufficient, for the Queene our good sister must needis make demonstration (if it please her) to . . . . our faithful subjectes myndes of the opinion they have. And if the said Erle of Lennox will not hastely redress

. sic attestates for her lawes nor command, he shall make instance and acquiese to our said good sister that by justice it proseid in seasing of his gudis be he in this contrey. Where in there can be na excuse be made that we be not recompensit (if we may not of all) at the least the anie part of that he receaved and spoilyeis violently. We hope that the Queene our good sister will not refuse us of it that she wald not deny to any other, which is the justice of her realmes, wheruntill we come with esperance of her favor and good support. We are assured she wald not, it wer spoken that she holdes oure handes in the meantyme that anie other (on whom she has power) reifis us of all that we have. It touches as much her reputation as it does the damnage we receave. Which we remit to your wisdome and as the occasion shall serve to shew to our own good sister in sic fassoun as she may knaw that we be willing to travell sincearely with her in all her actions, advertisis her howerly of it that we knaw (by the tongues of so many of our faythfull subiects afflicted with us) shall be to our sure regrait manifested thoro the whole world. And finally he shall declare to the Queen our good sister we are advertised that sen the saide Erle of Lennox has usarped the name of Regent of our realme, he has so prevayled above sum personnes that ar about the prince our sonne (who wavering from the limites

of all modesty and honest maners, forces themeselfes to cause speak filthie and most dishonest wordes of us to our onne saide sonne, which is so great a mischantues that it should be horrible, not only to our own said good sister, but to all other personnes whatsoever. They would nourrishe him to impietie, which proceades of theire wicked hartes declaring themselfes such as they ar. This is one act wherof we are deliberat to complayne to all Christien princes as of a thing that towches us nerrer nor our propre liffe, and beggins at the Queene our good sister, whom we besech to make sic demonstration thereanent that we have no need to go any further, and as she wald we looked for her friendship. Which if it might be proven in any thing, it may be in this. For she has puissance over the said Erle of Lenox and all those of his faction, who (as it is notorious dare not disobey her, having na moyen nor forces but hers. Excuse us to the Quene our good sister that we wryt not to her at this tyme, fynding ourself evill disposed. So committis you to God, at Chattsworth, the xxiiij day of November 1570,

Your right good frind and mestres,

MARIE R.

1570. *December* —. Mary Stuart is removed to Sheffield, Yorkshire, where she remains nearly fourteen years. During this period, she makes several visits to Chatsworth, Hardwick, and the baths of Buxton.

The Queen of Scots to the Cardinal de Lorraine.

From the Castle of Sheffield, this 1st Dec [1570].

My good uncle, I cannot tell you what pleasure I derived from the perusal of your letter of the 12th of November, to which at present I cannot reply, from the haste I am in to answer M. de la Mothe respecting some fresh suspicions which they have been exciting in the Queen madam my good sister, to irritate her against me, and about which I am now writing to her in my defence; but on the first opportunity I will not fail to answer you, and humbly thank you for the kind demonstration you have given of the love you bear me, and the will to serve me in all that I can require of you. My good uncle, if I should never have any other proof of this, there is the joy which your said letter has given me, and which will do my heart more good than any thing that could have happened to me. I have nothing further to say, but that you will never love one who honours and respects you more, or who desires more to please and obey you than your poor niece. Above all, I thank you for the promise which you have made me respecting the priories, and beg you will use all diligence, and re-

member to send me some news, which I requested you to do in my last letters.

I know not whether the Queen my good sister has seen your letter. I wish she had, for they try hard to persuade her, as I believe, that you are her enemy: and though I know the contrary, yet I will beseech you to take the trouble to employ your good offices between the King and her, that a firm friendship may ensue, as a good opinion of you may cause her to have less suspicion of me. Not to delay longer this despatch, which I write in haste, I beg you to present my excuses to madame my grandmother and M. the Cardinal of Guise my uncle, for not being able to write to them this time for the reason above mentioned; but I will shortly make amends for this fault; in the mean time, permit me to present them my humble commendations to their favour. I praise God that they and all the rest of our relations are in good health, and pray to God to keep them so, particularly the King, with all the happiness that he can desire, and the Queen madam my good mother. After kissing your hands, I will pray God, my good uncle, to grant you health and a long and happy life. Excuse me, for I am in such haste that I know not what I write.

I beg you will permit me to say to my ambassador that I have received his letters, but have neither leisure to answer him myself, nor to get any one to

write for me at the moment; but that I am satisfied with his conduct.

Your very humble, obedient, and affectionate niece and daughter,

MARY R.

1571. *March* —. Cecil, created Baron Burleigh, advises Elizabeth to marry the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., afterwards Henry III.; and a negociation on this subject is opened with France.

April 2. The Earl of Lennox reduces the castle of Dumbarton, which still held out for Mary, and orders the Archbishop of St. Andrews, whom he finds there, to be hanged.

—. Bailly, one of the attendants on the Queen of Scotland, returning from Brussels, is seized at Dover, and the despatches found upon him lead to the discovery of a plot for the deliverance of that princess.

1571. *August* —. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been released on his parole, is again placed in the Tower of London, as also his secretaries Higford, Barker, and even the Bishop of Ross, ambassador of Mary Stuart. The duke is brought to trial.

September 6. The Earl of Lennox is assassinated, and the Earl of Marr invested with the regency.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, 18th September, 1571.

M. de Glascow, though John Gordon, the bearer of this, is a Protestant, yet he is a faithful servant to me, and has written against Knox and the ministers in favour of my authority, and I hope that in time, and in the society of learned men, he will become converted: to this end, I beg you will introduce him to some of the most learned, as Master Rignan began; and besides, my Lord Hundly, and

my lord his father, are now at the castle, having lost all their property for adhering to my cause. I beg you, therefore, to do all in your power for the bearer, agreeably to the open letter which I have given to the bearer, and to continue to him his usual pension, and take pains to gain him, for he is a very learned young man, of an amiable disposition, and related to many worthy persons. I have no doubt, if he could but be sent to an instructor who is a Jesuit, he might turn Catholic; and to this end, M. de Glascow, take care to send a supply of money, and keep up a communication with the palace, and act as a faithful servant of God and of your country. Take care of our country, as I have not the means of doing so, and be assured that you will find in me a kind mistress and friend. Solicit all the ambassadors and my relations to join you in interceding for me, and I pray God to grant his grace to you and patience to me. Ask the King to obtain for me a confessor, to administer the sacraments, in case God should call me by one way or other.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

1572. *January* 16. Duke of Norfolk condemned to death.
April 22. Treaty of alliance between England and France.
June 2. Execution of the Duke of Norfolk.
June — Morton treacherously delivers the Earl of Northumberland to the agents of Elizabeth.

August 22. The Earl of Northumberland executed at York without trial.

August 24. The horrible and infamous massacre of Saint Bartholomew in Paris.

September 7. Killigrew is sent into Scotland, by Elizabeth, to offer to deliver Mary Stuart to the king's lords, but the Earl of Marr will not accede to the proposal.

October 8. Death of the Earl of Marr. Morton, warmly supported by the English ambassador, is declared Regent of Scotland.

April 25. Marshal Berwick, sent for by Morton, lands at Leith with an English army, and lays siege to the castle of Edinburgh, which is defended by Kirkaldy, Hume, and Maitland.

May 9. Henry, Duke of Anjou, elected king of Poland after the death of Sigismund II.

May 25. M. du Verger, President of Tours, sent to Mary on the subject of her dowry.

The Queen of Scots to Monsieur d'Humières.[1]

Monsieur d'Humières, since the death of the late King Monsignor, your good master, I have received no intelligence of your situation until a short time ago, when Ballay informed me you were in good health, of which he had been assured by your good brother Monsieur de Baieulx, who, at the same time, made inquiries respecting me, which has induced me, on so favourable an occasion as the return of the president of Tours,[1] my chancellor, to command him to visit you on his road, and to present, from me, this letter, and to inform you that, having been deprived of my dowry in Touraine, I am to be indemnified in your neighbourhood, which,

[1] Jacques d'Humières, gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles IX.

[1] The sieur du Verger, who had come to give an account of matters concerning her domains in France.

I think, will not be disagreeable to you, considering our old acquaintance, and what I have had the honour to be to you in respect to the late king your master, since whose death I seem to have found neither friendship nor acquaintance at this new court, excepting from those who were in his service, but who are all separated, as it were, at present. In fact, I could not have a neighbour with whom I should be better pleased, as the bearer will tell you, whom I beg you to credit, as you would myself, and whom I beg you to assist whenever he may need your favour and advice for my service. As I place every confidence in you, and as, through him, I shall henceforth hope to be able to hear from you, and you from me, I shall not wrong his sufficiency, but conclude with my affectionate remembrances to you and to your wife, praying God to preserve you, Monsieur d'Humières, in good health, and to grant you a very happy and long life.

From Schefild this xxvi of May (1573.)

Your best and most sincere old friend,

MARY.

1573. *May* 29. The castle of Edinburgh surrenders to the English, and Elizabeth delivers up the prisoners to Morton, who poisons Maitland and executes Kirkaldy.

June —. Mary Stuart passes some time at the baths of Buxton, and arrives, in August, at Chatsworth.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke de Nevers.

July 31, [1573.]

To my cousin monsieur the Duke de Nevers.

Having always found you a good kinsman, and a friend to all my house, I cannot but hope that you bear me the same good will, seeing that we were formerly so long brought up and educated together; on which account, having occasion to commend myself to the kind remembrance of the king monsieur my good brother, of the queen, and of the king of Poland,[k] and all my other relations, and I would not omit reckoning you in the number, and begging you to favour and forward the affairs of my dowry whenever they need it, as for one of your fondest and most affectionate relations, which I shall always be to you as long as I live. I have desired my chancellor, the bearer of this, to give you every information, and whom I beg you to believe. Fearing lest I should annoy you by so tiresome a subject and my bad writing, I conclude, recommending myself to your favour, praying God to grant you, my good cousin, a long and happy life. From Schefild this last day of July.

Your very loving cousin,

MARY.

[k] The duke of Anjou, only surviving brother of Charles IX., was elected king of Poland in 1573.

1573. The Bishop of Ross is set at liberty, and retires into France.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam my good sister, I consider myself very unfortunate in having found, in my adversity, so many persons ready to injure me by all sorts of means, and wrongfully; for I have not, that I know of, ever done any thing to deserve their displeasure; yet, they are every day making some fresh report to you, in order to make you suspicious of and angry with me, even at the moment when I am most anxious to avoid the least occasion of giving you offence. I state this, because, ever since you were pleased to send to me Mr. Wade and other commissioners, who informed me of part of your anger against me, I have endeavoured not to speak, to write, or even to think of any thing that I could suppose likely to give you any cause whatever to be displeased with me.

Thus, when I heard of the loss of my castle of Edinburgh and other reverses, perceiving that people took pleasure in talking more about them than was necessary for comforting me, I flatly refused to converse upon that subject, not wishing to make my misfortunes a pastime to any one, and not being able to remedy them; and also expressly not to furnish occasion to any one to put a malicious construction on my words: and yet you daily

heard some false report concerning me, as I perceive from the letters of De la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king my good brother. But if you would have the kindness to reserve an ear for me, before condemning me on the faith of those who, by such reports, strive to incense you against me, you would soon find that they have no other foundation for their statements than a malicious desire to injure me.

You have been informed that I had attempted to bribe your subjects with my money; but if you will please to inquire, you will find it a mere supposition, and that, as I have already remarked, in writing to the said S^r. de la Mothe Fenelon, I have too many urgent calls upon the income I receive to be able to bring more money hither than what is absolutely necessary to pay my servants, and provide for my wants. If it had been agreeable to you, you might have seen this from the account which I have kept of my moneys, of which I have reserved but a very small sum for the above purpose.

For the rest, it appears unfortunate for my affairs that I have gained so many friends, seeing the ill turns that are done me on all sides; and, though it is asserted that I complain of being watched too closely, and that I am, nevertheless, continually gaining persons to my side, I assure you, madam,

that I neither see nor speak to any creature in the world, with the exception of those under whose charge you have placed me, and that with as much reserve as possible; for, as for any complaint or remonstrance that I have made to them, God knows they have not obliged me by any remedy they have applied; and even when they have granted me something, at the request of the said S^r. de la Mothe Fenelon, it has always been so thwarted that I have been no better for it. I do not say this to complain of any one, for I have learned to suffer, since it is your pleasure, and I shall never attribute to any but you the good or evil that befals me in this country, having come and placed myself in your hands as being my surest refuge, for the honour I have to be your nearest kinswoman and neighbour, and have no right to do otherwise than you command; and I should be very simple, having lived so long in trouble, if I did or said, in any house in England, what I wished not to be referred to you and to your council, were my affection other than it is towards you, seeing that I have access to none but those whom I know to be charged to watch me. I suffered too severely at Bourton[1]—recollect, if you please, the charity that was done me there—not to be on my guard elsewhere, though I may not appear to be so.

[1] Bolton castle, where Mary resided during the conferences at York.

But, to conclude, I feel my conscience so clear, that, whatever reports may be made of my actions, provided people only adhere to the truth, I will give you no cause to be dissatisfied with me, and I therefore beseech you not to believe any thing that may be told you to the contrary; for, I assure you, that I have neither written nor said more than I have said to your commissioners, or written to yourself, and in proof of my innocence in some thing, if you should be pleased to adopt some good expedient, that with your favour I might go to France or Scotland, things being by you re-established for my honour and safety, you will find that I should feel myself greatly obliged to you, and I will gladly prepare to quit this country, that I may manifest elsewhere, when at liberty, my affection for you, which people strive to disguise from you, to deprive me of the opportunity of defending myself in your presence, in which the others have time and place to accuse me. Be this as it may, I beseech you in future to believe nothing concerning me, and not to credit or hearken to any thing against me, but what you have sufficient proof of; for I desire nothing more than to do what is agreeable to you, if you will be pleased to grant me the means, and to permit me to have access to you, that I may lay before you my grievances, for, till that moment, I shall experience nothing but crosses: and,

fearing that I have already fatigued you by this long letter, I will send the rest of my remonstrances to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and present my humble recommendations to your good favour, praying God to grant you, madam, good health and a long and very happy life. From the castle of Cheffeild the 20 February, 1574.•

Your very affectionate and good
Sister and cousin,
MARY R.

Declaration of my intentions, relative to the answer made to the Instructions of the Sieur Duvergier, my Chancellor, and other points concerning the affairs of my Dowry.

April 29, 1574.

I have seen the copy of the leases of Poitou, which has been sent in compliance with the first article of the said instructions; and it appears to me, that I am not bound either by the reverses of fortune, the chances of war, or internal troubles, to make any reductions to the tenants; nevertheless, not wishing to injure or use any great rigour towards subjects of the king my good brother, respecting the lands of my dowry, I shall be content, out of pity for their losses, that some abatement be made; that is but reasonable; but to take off one half, I think a most immoderate reduction, considering that these farms were let upon very long

leases, and when the times were very unsettled, consequently, it is certain the farmers would not have taken them under such circumstances and others specified in the said leases, unless they had felt well convinced of obtaining some great advantages beyond the rent at which they were put, and that one year makes amends for another. To commence such a custom could not but prove prejudicial to me, as they might on all occasions, for which they could never be at a loss, with the said conditions, which, at this rate, would be made for them, and not for me, claim an abatement, and hang back in their payments, in order to compound on their own terms, till they would in the end have nothing to pay; as I perceive, from the answers given to some of the items in my accounts, they have already begun to do, and which I am much surprised at, and should like to know for what fear or respect one cannot have recourse to just constraint; for it appears to me, according to this, that the contracts made with them, and the conditions they have entered into, are a mere farce; and, on the other hand, the journeys, and annual goings and comings, which have been and must henceforward be consequent thereupon, should this system continue, will put me to costs and charges, more for the accommodation of others than for the benefit of my affairs; and, if I am not mistaken, on

this, as I believe, my treasurer founds his excuses for his want of diligence in recovering my rents, and the many corrections in his accounts. I wish very much that some better method were adopted, for that which is now pursued does not at all please me; and to point out one myself would be rather difficult, unless I had a more thorough knowledge of my affairs. I must, therefore, consult some one over there what is best to be done, after which I will more fully communicate my intentions.

I attach no blame to my chancellor for not having informed me that the leases were publicly disposed of to the highest bidder; in this he did his duty; but when I was told of the bad management, I turned to Roullet, who was present, as being one who could give me some account of the way in which it was conducted, who, having affirmed the same as Duvergier, and that he had been present at some where no fraud could be practised, the following reply was made, loudly and plainly, before me and those who were in my room: "If you know nothing more, your eyes must be half shut; there are douceurs given underhand, and all tends to the injury of the queen and the diminution of her revenue, for, before the game is finished, the consent of her majesty is obtained; knowing the bidders whom they can reckon upon, they reserve the farms for such, and so the rents

are kept low." This speech closed the mouth of my secretary, and when I told this story to Duvergier, he had no more to say than the other, and yet he must not be accused of not having done on this occasion all the good offices in his power; for, as to giving cause for suspecting that he had been present at the letting, he could not make any further opposition, or dissuade me from investigating this matter. The aforesaid representation did not come from any of my people, and „if my chancellor does his duty," he will not reveal who it was, for he has no orders to do so; but, on the contrary, I forbade as I highly disapprove of the threats which I understand he has used against the informant, if he were known; indeed, it would be more becoming, and perhaps more suitable and easy, to strive to please me, than to engage in quarrels, and to defend himself in that manner.

I complained, at the conclusion of the first article, that, earnestly as I desired in several of my former despatches, to be informed what money I had to dispose of, either in pensions or in other ways, that I might the better regulate my expenses according to the means I possess, I have not yet been able to obtain this information, so that in the estimate for next year, which I should like to make early, I know not at what sum to set down the receipts for that cannot be taken from pre-

ceding estimates, there being a greater deficiency in one year than another; and, on the other hand, the correction which has been made in mine is so contradictory, and so different in various points from what was fixed over there for the year 72, which has just been sent signed, with a copy of mine corrected for the said year, that, as far as I can see, being kept so much in the dark respecting the state of my finances by those who have the management of them, it would be difficult for me to set it to rights here, and too tedious to mention here in detail the items in which the said contradictions occur, and which I point out for their consideration in the copies remaining in their hands of what they have sent me. I am not a very good accountant, but I see that in these two estimates made out by them there is a difference in the receipts of ten thousand francs—a difference sufficient to put me in doubt which I ought to follow, as they were sent to me both together.

Moreover, after having carefully drawn up the said estimate, signed on the 16th of May, before the said Duvergier set out to come to me, I find it very strange that there should be given him another, totally different, both from that which was sent to me signed, and from that which I drew up, and from the corrected copy, for the receipts are swelled by more than six score thou-

sand francs, and there is an excess in the expenditure by thirteen or fourteen thousand. This ostentation is neither agreeable nor profitable to me. I perceive from it that I am to expect nothing but wind, for it seems to me that there are fictitious items in my estimates; but I should not like to be entrapped, or that any one, upon pretext that I had admitted this or that receipt in my estimates or accounts, should allege that I was bound by it, notwithstanding the said expenses, which he might say he had only to examine, and not to hurt himself. Without being much versed in these subtilties of finance, it appears to me easy to judge that there is no need for my estimates or accounts authorised by me to be so confused; and I wish to know, and to be informed in this place, why the said signed statement has been so altered from its first form; otherwise, I shall be of opinion that the one which has been now substituted in its stead has been sent merely to feel the way, and take advantage of me. I therefore repeat my desire, and insist on being forthwith furnished with a clear and plain statement of the moneys that I may reckon upon for the next year, that I may make arrangements accordingly; and if this be not done, and I am left to grope my way in the dark, which may cause me to err in my calculations, I protest that those who

show that they have a beam in their eye, shall not tell me, by their pretended corrections of accounts, that I have a mote in mine.

Seeing the uncertainty of my finances above mentioned, and that three statements have been sent me for one year, all disagreeing, and mine making the fourth, I have determined not to make any alteration whatever in those which I have drawn up for three years, wishing the expenditure to remain as it is, and to be defrayed, before all things, in its present shape, there being funds sufficient for the purpose; and as to the receipts, after those who have charge of my finances have duly weighed and examined the whole, they must consider, on delivery of the accounts of my treasurer, whether those receipts shall be increased or diminished by degrees or otherwise, as they may think best, and as their duty shall require, a copy of which accounts I expect to be sent to me incontinently, that I may see how my directions have been followed.

As for the second article of the instructions, to which I answered, that M. Puyguillem will satisfy me in his letters. I declare that I shall not swerve in any manner from the resolution I have taken by that article to which I refer, so that there is no need to say any more about it, unless that I leave it to the judgment of the said Sieur de Puy-

guillem, to do what he thinks most advantageous, and desiring to be informed of it, that I may provide accordingly.

And, forasmuch as I know that M. the Cardinal of Lorraine, my uncle, is importuned to give away several offices, seignorial rights, escheats, and other things, and which he cannot refuse, and yet it is represented to me that he causes them to be taken by force; and that I am so slighted that things are done without my knowledge and consent, often contrary to my will; I beg, as I have tied my hands for some time, in order to pay off my debts, that he will do the like on his part, and that he will leave me to dispose of offices from which I derive income, for I wish to receive the principal thanks for them, and to bestow them upon those whom I think proper for my service: and to remove all obstacles in this matter, and every impediment to the fulfilment of my intention, I expressly forbid my chancellor, on his duty and the oath he swore to me, and as he shall answer to me for it, to seal any gift or appointment that does not proceed direct from me, and has not my consent and approbation.

I have also seen and considered the reply made to the fifth article of the said instructions, wherein mention is made of the signing and registering of letters conferring office, and regulations made in

this department by my uncle, M. the Cardinal of Lorraine, with whom, from the reverence I have for him, I will not find fault. At the same time, it is my opinion that the said regulations have been so urgently called for and hurried forward without my being apprised of them, more for private advantage than out of respect to me and my interest; and I do not think it reasonable that the granting and signing of these letters should be confided to one person, or to his clerk, as I understand it is; for, such affairs passing only through these hands, would afford opportunity for abuse; besides which, it obliges the chancellor to be always with him, otherwise, perhaps, he would only sign what and when he pleased, so that the authority would be vested in him, and not in the chancellor. I do not mean, by this my declaration, to derogate from the regulations of my said uncle, but I beg him to consider the above, and modify the said regulations as he may think fit, so that the dignity of my chancellor may be respected by them, not only in regard to the registering, but all other matters. As to fees, I desire that those which I have mentioned may be continued, and, meanwhile, shall not prevent those which he shall be pleased to order; but, as to abatements, which I know, in some cases, to be equivalent to gifts, it

is my will that none be made, but for important considerations, as I have prescribed.

I command, once more, that all moneys arising from the sale of vacant offices be kept expressly for my use, as I have directed in the said instructions; and that they be not touched, upon any account whatever, but by my express command and authority; and, independently of the order given in the aforesaid instructions, that such sums should remain untouched. I further desire my treasurer to see that my will in this respect be fully executed, if he wishes to give me satisfaction. I expect, likewise, that he will not thwart my said intentions, as I am informed he does, by transferring, as much as he can, what I wish to be paid out of the ordinary receipts or pensions, to my casualties, that he may have the less trouble, and for his private convenience.

I have seen the list, sent me by my treasurer, of such sums as he says he had paid before the receipt of the despatch from my said chancellor; and as, at the departure of my said chancellor, no mention was made of this, and he appeared to know nothing about the matter, it will be difficult to persuade me that, before the journey hither, he had advanced such large sums, considering the complaints that are made to me, that he is rather backward in paying. But I suspect that these are

mere inventions, to exact so much from my moneys; an expedient which I cannot but think highly reprehensible, that my said treasurer should, in this respect, be more obsequious to others than diligent in fulfilling my intentions, and playing his part to gratify particular persons. I therefore declare, that I will not make any alteration in my estimates hereafter an account of those whom he has favoured, more than what he has been ordered and commanded by me to do; at any rate, in my next estimate, I will consider those who have been omitted, and provide for them as I shall see fit.

There has also been sent to me a list of counsel, in addition to the list already included in my estimates; I cannot see of what service such a number can be to me in the management of any lawsuits, which are ill-advised and ill-conducted. I have lost, as I am assured, and by mismanagement, that in which I was engaged for the County of Réthel; for Madame de Nevers would never have asked me to give it her, as she did, in order to be the more obliged and bound to me, if by counsel, so resolute as mine, they had not found that I had a right to it, and that it was necessary to address themselves to me.

I have some lawsuits at Rouen of no little consequence, and which, for want of being followed up, have been standing still for a long time, out of respect for the opposite parties, rather than regard

for my interest; and, as to that with Secondat, concerning which I have so many times called for an explanation, it appears to me that there is not one who knows any more about it than I do myself, or is capable of giving me any information, unless, peradventure, it be a solicitor, who demands a fee of seven or eight thousand francs, and a recompense to boot, besides being entered in my establishment, for having caused me to throw away my money, and to be saddled with fines and expenses; and who applied to my treasurer, in my name, for repayment of moneys, not touched but in imagination, to the amount of between fifty and sixty thousand francs, all, as he said, for a decree already issued by the great council, which has never yet been issued, nor will it ever produce me any thing beyond shadow or smoke. Meanwhile my money, to a large amount, is at stake, and in danger of being lost, without any hope of my being able to withdraw it; instead of benefiting by the fine which Secondat was adjudged to pay me, it seems I have to pay it. They reply, that all this has been done by my counsel, which does not satisfy me, for I am in the hands of these counsel, and will not in any way approve or avow certain things which are alleged to be done in my name, touching the said suit, for I have often desired information respecting it, which they ought to have given me

before proceeding further, and then I should have expressed my opinion, which I think was worth having. In short, there is nothing in the answer made to this article of the instructions with which I am satisfied; nor is it a valid excuse, that it was conducted by the people of the king. I should not have been burdened with these fines and expenses, as much less would have sufficed to pay those whose services were needed. But to speak more plainly, the gratuities which I was persuaded to give were the cause of the entry, on my part, into the possessions of the said Secondat, sooner than was right; and for this I have been needlessly obliged to make sacrifices, and become involved in a labyrinth of difficulties. They must not tell me all this was done for good causes, and for the purpose of gaining more advantage; the result proved the contrary.

The account which has been given me respecting the claims on the estate of Estrepagny, which I. demanded in the twelfth article of the instructions, is not at all to the purpose; and if I cannot have some better information than this, I may as well have none at all. It is said, among other things, that there are difficulties (but there is no particular mention of them, and for a good reason); nevertheless, that it is advised that copies of the papers relating to the matter should be sent to Madame

de Longueville and her counsel. It appears to me that some more special advice than this might have been given me; and that I am discreet enough to keep the secret which is disclosed to the adverse party. But what is it but a repetition, at my expense, of the preceding article! The counsel directs thus, and I may complain as much as I please—the quarry is always concealed from me. This does not at all please me, and in the end I shall be compelled to take such steps as the disrespect with which I am treated merits. I will not, however, be so uncourteous as others have shewn themselves to me, but will candidly express what I think.

I know that the late queen, my mother, whom God absolve, derived ten thousand livres per annum from this estate till her death, which was nine years or nearly after that of my brother M. de Longueville; and, seeing the ingratitude with which she was treated, though she rendered the house so prosperous and wealthy by her virtuous administration, there is no doubt that, had not her title been good, she would have been dispossessed of it, and that, being so closely watched in regard to what she might owe, her dowry would have been answerable for it during that time. However, as soon as her mouth was closed, and there was no longer any one to answer for her about her concerns, as in her life-

time, when she was there to speak for herself, the officers and the other servants of the said house began to pare away every thing they could, and to take it from me as heir, and at that time holding the place of Queen of France, as if they thought it a royal charity to benefit the other party; so that, after examining all their claims and accounts, they made it out that I was indebted to M. de Longueville in the sum of six thousand seven hundred livres, and that for the payment of this M. de Puyguillem had contracted that he, the said Sieur de Longueville, should hold the estate of Estrepagny until the debt was liquidated by instalments of a thousand livres. In this state the business has remained ever since, either from negligence or some other cause; and, the contract being in the hands of the said Sieur de Puyguillem, to whose care I entrusted this as well as my other affairs, I perceive, by the notes affixed to my treasurer's accounts, and even by the last rendered in the year 1571, that the said Sieur de Puyguillem, who had himself affixed, or caused the said notes to be affixed, had advised an action to be brought against the said Sieur de Longueville. The contract, however, upon which this suit was grounded has never been produced; and since, having put down the said sum together with the arrears in my next estimate for the year 1572, and directed due diligence to be used for the recovery of the

moneys, I am told by the above-mentioned correction of my said estimate as to the estate of Estrepagny that there is nothing to receive, because the Sieur de Puyguillem, about two years ago, recovered the copy of the marriage contract of the queen my mother, with Duke Loys her husband, on the back of which is a receipt and acknowledgment of the payment of the residue of her dowry which was paid to her in France. This payment is, in my opinion, fictitious, and invented for the purpose of obtaining some gift which it was thought I might be disposed to make; but in this they were much mistaken.

The above-mentioned reply given to the instructions, moreover, states that this recovery has been attended with great difficulty and trouble, as it was necessary to send to Blois, Joinville, and Tholoze: this seems to me preposterous, and something more plausible should have been alleged in order to be credited. I never heard of this trouble and new difficulty till now, since I have been rather angry about the bad management of my affairs. In short, I have every reason to suspect some forgery in the receipt which M. de Puyguillem pretends to have found on a copy of the said marriage contract, or that there is an equivalent of some other kind due to my late mother the queen, which is concealed, otherwise the counsel of M. de Longueville would not have been so long before he made his

claim; and I have not such little judgment as not to consider the consequence, besides an income of a thousand livres in landed property, or the sum of twenty thousand livres, which it would produce if sold, one being equivalent to the other. But I am certain that this is merely a bugbear which people wish to place before my eyes, or fabricated by the counsel I may have, to deter me from prosecuting my right, and to make me fear incurring more serious losses; and I am so sure and confident that, when the imposthume bursts, it will appear how I have been misled by those in whom I placed the utmost reliance, and that I will not be any longer imposed upon, be the consequence what it will. During my prosperity, I bore with patience the wrongs, which I well knew were done me, as matters of little importance, and too trifling for me to enter into dispute with the parties who interfered in them; but, at this moment, when, moved by conscience, they ought to recompense me for it, I see them determined to make me lose the whole, it is not right to suffer them any longer to abuse my forbearance, which, being then rightly interpreted, might be called too gross carelessness and neglect of the few affairs that are left to employ my mind and to beguile the time with when occasion requires. It is, therefore, my desire that, together with the account which I have ordered by word of

mouth, and which I require, by this present memorial, my chancellor to furnish of my other lawsuits, he fail not to give me sure information concerning this, and cause it to be followed up; and that, for this purpose, all papers, documents, and writings whatsoever, that can be of any service to him, be placed in his hands.

In all the rest of the articles and points in the said instructions, upon which I am told that I shall be satisfied, and to which I make no rejoinder, I desire that the contents be, nevertheless, observed and followed according to my intention therein expressed, and that the present memorial shall not derogate from them in any respect, unless in so far as is expressly specified there or in my present letters; wholly disapproving of the exception made in reply to the last article of the said instructions, in which I am told that many things may happen from day to day to render the execution of my orders difficult, nay, in a manner impossible, and extremely prejudicial to my interest; for this seems to imply that they mean to obey me only so far as they think proper, and that, after I have commanded a thing to be done, it ought to be submitted to the decision of my council, which I shall always believe in any thing that is reasonable; but I am determined to be absolute mistress, and above the said council, being old enough to know how to manage my dowry.

And rather than go on thus, and be constantly in this anxiety, I will take a new resolution, and cause it to be managed by the officers of the king, and will be content to receive it in money, and with the commutation offered for my assignment, whether it be advantageous to me or not.

There are sums advanced by several persons for clothing and other necessaries furnished for me, as I have seen by a copy of the account passed several months ago, and signed by the Sieurs Puyguillem, Duvergier, and La Landouse, amounting to 3499 livres, 15 sous, 8 deniers tournois, with the order at the end, addressed to my treasurer, to pay them, dated the 14th of March, whence I conclude that they are settled.

In a letter from my uncle M. the Cardinal of Lorraine, of the 20th of March last, he wrote to me in behalf of the Bishop of Ross, to the effect that the pension I allowed him out of my pensions might be paid him out of the ordinary receipts of my revenue, which I am content to grant him; and for that purpose have made a memorandum, which I send herewith, and that my.....be satisfied, where he is included for what I intend to be paid, in addition to the sum entered in my estimate, and out of what moneys.

I had, moreover, assigned to James Curl, citizen of Edinbourg, the sum of two thousand livres on my

said pensions, by an order dated the 1st day of December, 1573; and, as moneys proceeding from my said pensions went in part payment for the annuity granted to George Douglas, at the Hotel de Ville of Paris, it is my will, by virtue of this memorandum, that the said sum of two thousand livres, by commutation, be paid to the said Curl out of the money arising from the ordinary receipts of my said revenue, which I had ordered to be laid out in the said annuity by my estimates above-mentioned, notwithstanding that the said order remains in its original form. And forasmuch as in the list of debits extracted from the account of my treasurer for the year 1571, in which list I had ordered what moneys were to be reserved for me, Master Arnauld Colommiers, my surgeon, is set down for several years' wages, I will and command that, notwithstanding the said list and order, the said Master Arnauld be paid the said wages, either out of the moneys which my said treasurer then had, or which he may have in his hands on account of these debits, or from any other moneys acknowledged by my aforesaid estimates, wherever he shall find funds sufficient. And as to the sum of twelve hundred livres for the Sieur de Quantly, included in the list of debits, and which my treasurer gives me to understand that he has paid, and got a receipt for, I

consent that it be likewise struck off the said list, and that the said account be discharged.

This present memorial shall be communicated by my ambassador, to the Sieurs Puyguillem, Esquilly, Duvergier, my chancellor, La Landouse, my treasurer; and others whom it may concern, and a copy of the contents delivered to each, so that none of them may be ignorant of my intentions; and especially my chancellor, in order that on his part he may use his utmost endeavours to cause the aforesaid instructions to be duly observed, and to render me an account thereof, as I expect all the others to do on their part, that I may know that their actions correspond with the language they make use of in their private letters, when they tell me that I should be obeyed; for by this I shall see what I ought to believe: not that I doubt the upright intentions of any one; but I know not how it is that, whatever I may be told, my orders are so ill obeyed, that I am compelled, to my great regret, to write in these terms.

Done at the manor of Sheffield, the 29th day of the month of April, 1574.

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Sheffield, 8th May, 1574.

Monsieur de Glascow, none of my subjects or servants has a greater dislike to enter into disputes

than myself; yet I would do so both with the one and the other, when I love them and wish to make use of them, communicating my will and what I think it necessary for them to know, in order to dispose them to fulfil it voluntarily: on the other hand, as far as lies in my power, and I see that it is reasonable, I shall have great pleasure in gratifying them when they solicit emolument, honour, and advancement of me. As I perceive from your letters that you are mistaken in regard to my last, which you think too harsh, this makes me write to you in the style of a mistress, purposely that you may not doubt that all they contained was according to my command; for I never write letters that others dictate. They may, indeed, prepare them; but I look over and correct them if they convey not my meaning, before I sign them. You cannot harbour this doubt in the present instance, for my secretary is so ill that I am obliged to write all my despatches with my own hand; but I am of the same opinion as he who writes for you, whom you will command to write in milder terms another time, for I do not wish to be compelled to write to you otherwise than is befitting so faithful a subject, and a minister diligent and zealous in obeying the commands of a good mistress, and to remove all occasion for doubt, or ignorance, or discontent, which I suspect some persons are striving to put

into your head, knowing that I would not take the same trouble to satisfy them as for you, whose services are so valuable to me.

I will tell you what both your brothers told me to write to you, and I assure you, without meaning to offend you—and you may believe this on the word of her whose testimony alone ought to be positive proof—I have still some of your letters which I received at Winkfield and other places, in which you informed me that M. the Cardinal had placed the seals in your hands until I should appoint a chancellor, and that you would use such authority in the best manner you possibly could to my advantage, hoping that, whoever succeeded you, he would find his road already marked out. You, at the same time, recommended to me a brother-in-law, or some other relation, of the treasurer's, and Duvergier. I appointed Duvergier on this condition, that he should reside in Paris, and come over here to receive my orders; for I should have been vexed had it been given to any one without my knowledge, as I formerly wrote to you. In short, you never expressed a wish to me to keep the seals for any time, or led me to suppose you would feel gratified by having them given to you; and surely, during the two years which elapsed between my gift, or at least the promise by letter written with my own hand to Duvergier, and his entering into

office, you had sufficient time to let me know if you wished for the appointment or not; for I assure you that I should have preferred you, had you frankly asked me for it: but naturally supposing that you would have expressed your wish to that effect if you had formed any, I did, as I always told you it was my intention to do, appoint a chancellor, and I am sorry you should have so long deferred informing me of your dissatisfaction, for which there is no remedy.

As to what you tell me that I am censured for it, inform me who and what, for it is your duty, and not to suffer any thing to be said in your presence out of pique or caprice against me, and I will let them know what I think of it. They are not very discreet who wilfully intermeddle, and strive to sow discord between an old experienced minister and his mistress, who ought to understand matters better than they do, clever as they conceive themselves to be. Tell them that, whenever I shall look after them, their bad conduct will be discovered; that you will be the first to expose it, and then each must answer for himself. As for yourself, you say that you have no fear of being made a slave, but are determined to follow my directions in every thing, by which you shall not lose either profit, honour, or advancement; for you shall be preferred to every one whatsoever: and in future,

whenever you have any desire for an appointment or other favour, be not afraid to let me know it, for neither you nor any other person shall ever have any thing in my gift but from myself, if I can help it; but, if you are presented with any thing from another quarter, as I have so often solicited, I shall consider myself greatly obliged. As far as I can see, the appointment would only have annoyed you, for you would have gained nothing but ill-will, if you had said absolutely that you would follow my instructions as punctually as I wish; for people over there like to do only just what they please. If I could but speak to you, I would soon remove any unpleasant impression by explaining the cause of my dissatisfaction, which in no way concerns you; nor in my choice of chancellor has any person a right to find fault with me, or to accuse me of monopoly, as you say; but I hate those whom persons over there would wish to appoint, though no one was officious enough to propose or to persuade me otherwise than what I have already written to you, which I shall not repeat—and this is the truth.

I have been informed that, as soon as the news was known that Duvergier had a passport to come to me, it was said in your lodging that Roullet had obtained it for him; wherein he was unjustly suspected, for the poor fellow never opened his mouth

to speak to me concerning it, and would have been glad to take the journey himself if possible, feeling himself already attacked by that disorder which has since reduced him to his present state. In short, it was my own act and deed; but as he is so odious to you, that you have refused to introduce him as I requested, I will not urge you further. At all events, he will not fail to side with you as I have commanded him, and to take your advice whenever you choose to give it. I never intended that he should be either your superior or equal in the council, where, in the absence of my uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, you, as my representative, hold the first place, and where you are invested with authority to see to it that my affairs are conducted according to my orders, which I am certain you will implicitly follow, by way of setting a good example, more especially as you are my natural subject. I beg, therefore, that henceforth I may not again see any expressions in your letters which savour of dispute and altercation, nor hear any more about the dissatisfaction and disgust which prevent you from fulfilling the duties that you are charged with, as my present situation requires. For the rest, if there are any who murmur at my orders, tell them that at the present moment what I most desire in my affairs is to know those who are disposed to obey me, that I

may employ them, with the assured intention of rewarding them; and those who would fain manage my affairs according to their own fancy, that they must change their conduct, or I shall persuade myself that it is not so much for my interest as for their own that they wish to serve me. I want to see if, because I am absent or in prison, my orders are to be slighted or not, and I am willing to listen to the opinions of each, in order to follow the best counsel, which God will give me grace to discern; but wherever I find any confederacy formed to counteract my intentions, I shall hold as suspicious all those who belong to it, and only employ such as pursue a different course.

I have made a declaration of my intentions, in answer to the replies made me to the instructions and estimates which I gave to my chancellor; I send it you for the purpose of showing and making it known, as herein expressed: this I beg you to do, and to conform to my wish, which, if I could communicate to you in any other way than openly, you would approve of it, and be convinced, as I before told you, that nothing was done with the intention of injuring you and disparaging your faithful and agreeable services. I would most willingly have sought to procure permission for you to come over, had I not proof that it would be denied me, and were not all my requests viewed with more and

more suspicion. I will, however, do all I can, and I beg you will do the same on your part. As for the money which you delivered to the English ambassador, take care and make him return it, and never again place any more in his hands, nor any thing else, for they will not be answerable for any thing. If my servants are urgent for their wages, I shall be reduced to great straits. I shall soon send a memorandum of those whom I wish to be paid, the same as if they were entered in my estimate. Look to this, and take care that the assignations, which I sent by Duvergier, for wages and gifts to my servants here with me, be immediately despatched by the treasurer before any thing else; for, until this be done, I will not either give to or recompense any other, excepting the person to whom the Bishop of Ross lent a hundred crowns. I am very sorry that they have not been better satisfied, and without my knowledge. If you can do any thing for them, I will most willingly allow for it, rather than remain indebted to them as I am. I recommend, also, to you old Curle; he is an old and faithful servant, and his son is faithful and diligent in my service. I have assigned him some money, to be employed in the way that he knows of. See to it that he is promptly paid; and, if opportunity offers of providing for any of his children, you will do me a great kindness by seeking the

means. But, that I may have an answer to this despatch how my servants will be paid, I will send a list of those whom I wish to be paid first in France, among whom I shall not forget your servants, particularly the good old man Warkar, whom I have known for a very long time. My *écuyer de cuisine*, notwithstanding all the orders I have given him, has not been able to get any money. I beg you, more especially as I have been recommended, for my own safety, to be cautious in regard to my victuals, to let this be immediately settled; and tell Hoteman to receive his wages, and keep them for him for my sake; and speak to Cheminon, and inquire if there be any means of assisting him to recover part of his money, which was received but mismanaged, otherwise it will be necessary for him to go over himself, which he has already asked leave of me to do; and I assure you I should miss him very much. I am not out of danger if my food is not closely watched, and he is the only person here who has the care of it; besides, as I have no apothecary, he makes up all the medicines for me and my household; and I have not been very well since last Lent, when I suffered a good deal from the cold and want of exercise.

Roullet has sent me a letter from Monsieur de Flavigny, which I have read; but, as the said Roullet cannot answer him, I beg you to make

my recommendations to him, and to assure him, that if ever I have the luck to recover my liberty, I shall remind him of his promise to be a courtier, at least in my company, where he will always be wished for and welcome, as his virtues and amiable disposition deserve. I recommend to you my two orphans, Annibal and William Douglas, as you would wish me to do for those in whom you are interested. I am writing for some articles which I want; order them to be forwarded to me as soon as possible, and money for my household. I am also writing to monsieur my brother-in-law; to the queens mesdames my good mother and my sister; to monsieur le Duc, and monsieur de Montmorency; deliver my letters to them, and speak to them in behalf of Adam Gordon, to obtain for him the place of captain in the Scotch guards, M. de Losse being promoted to a higher situation. You are aware how highly this would gratify me. I beg you also to recommend to them Lord Walhton, and render him all the service you can. In short, I beg you to solicit, wherever you can, for the good treatment of all my faithful subjects and servants in France. If I had the means, I would not importune the king to aid them; but, having none, I cannot have recourse to any but him, in virtue of the ancient alliance between our countries, and the honour I have

of being his sister. I beg, also, that in all changes or new edicts, you will not be afraid to require that there be nothing prejudicial to my dowry, as in the case of those *tabellionages;* and solicit the aid and favour of M. the cardinal of Bourbon, of Montpensier, and of M. de Montmorency, to whom I wish you to address yourself as familiarly as to one of my relations, wherever you shall need counsel and favour, to aid you in remonstrating about my affairs in that quarter. I will pray God to give you, Monsieur de Glascow, health, and a long and happy life.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

I beg you to send me some genuine *terra sigillata,* if it is to be had for money; if not, ask M. the cardinal my uncle for some; or, if he has none, rather than have recourse to the queen my mother-in-law, or to the king, a bit of fine unicorn's horn, as I am in great want of it.[m]

From what I have heard, you have misunderstood what I wrote to you, for I never said that your brothers had specially solicited me to take the seals from you, but that I would permit you to retire altogether, which I refused; and, talking of the seals, they always denied that it was a

[m] The superstitious notions of those days attributed, we presume, extraordinary virtues to the imaginary as well as to the real substances for which the queen writes in this postscript.

thing from which you derived much profit. Your brother writes to you as if he had been accused of having done you some ill turn. I assure you, and can testify, that he never thought of such a thing; but he and your deceased brother expressed themselves to me in the terms above mentioned; and about this you may satisfy yourself, without letting La Landouse, and such like, interfere in correcting the *Magnificat*. I will inform you particularly of every thing. What I here tell you is enough to satisfy you that I have done nothing to cause you displeasure; but I am not pleased with those lawsuits, carried on where every one must be a judge, and in the end I shall grow angry with them, which is what I have no wish to do. Duvergier had my letters before I had let you know that I had given him them: he will show them to you.

1574. *May* 31. Charles IX. dies at Vincennes, and his brother, Henry III., returns from Poland to succeed him in France.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

June 9th [1574].

Madam my good sister, as you have been pleased to intimate to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king monsieur my good brother, that you were gratified by the liberty which I took

to present to you, through him, a trifling piece of my work, I cannot refrain from assuring you, by these lines, how happy I should esteem myself, if you would be pleased to permit me to make it my duty to recover, by any means whatever, some portion of your good graces, in which I most earnestly wish you to be pleased to aid me by some intimation in what way you think I can gratify and obey you; whenever it is your pleasure, I shall always be ready to give you proofs of the honour and friendship I bear you. I was very glad that you were pleased to accept the sweetmeats which the said Sieur de la Mothe presented to you; I am now writing to Duvergier, my chancellor, to send me a better supply, which you will do me a favour in making use of; and would to God that you would accept my services in more important things, in which I should show such readiness to please, that, in a short time, you would have a better opinion of me; in the mean time, I will wait patiently for some favourable news from you, which I have been expecting for such a long time. And that I may not be troublesome, I will communicate what I have further to say through Monsieur de la Mothe, being assured that you will not credit him less than myself; and having kissed your hands, I pray God to grant you, madam, my good sister, health and

a long and happy life. From Shefeild, this ixth June.

Your very affectionate sister and cousin,

MARY R.

1574. *June* —. Mary Stuart again goes to the baths of Buxton.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Sheffield, the 9th of July. [1574].

Monsieur de Glascow, I have nothing particular to say at present, except that, thank God, I am in better health than I was before using the baths, and when I last wrote to you. I beg you will procure for me some turtle-doves, and some Barbary fowls. I wish to try if I can rear them in this country, as your brother told me that, when he was with you, he had raised some in a cage, as also some red partridges; and send me, by the person who brings them to London, instructions how to manage them. I shall take great pleasure in rearing them in cages, which I do all sorts of little birds I can meet with. This will be amusement for a prisoner, particularly since there are none in this country, as I wrote to you not long ago. Pray see to it, that my directions be complied with, and I will pray God to have you in his keeping.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, the 18th of July [1574].

Monsieur de Glascow, M. de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king monsieur my brother, having given me the mournful intelligence of the decease of the said prince,[n] whom God absolve, you may imagine the grief I felt for the loss of so good a brother and friend; and if I had sooner had the means, I should have commanded you to go to visit and condole, in my name, with the queen madam my good mother, and with the queens my good sisters, which I am sure you have not failed to do, so well knowing my intentions; and having since heard lately, from the said M. de la Mothe Fenelon, that there are hopes at present, of the return of the king, monsieur my good brother, to his kingdom, I would not omit writing this letter, which I shall desire him to send you, for the purpose of informing you of my intention, which is that, on his arrival, you go to meet and receive him, performing, in my name, such offices as are required of a good sister and ally, delivering the letters which I have written to him, and assuring him of the good will which you know I have always borne, both towards the late king and himself; and, if you have opportunity, recommend me and my affairs to him, and to the queen my good mother also, to whom I am now writing,

[n] Charles IX., who died the 31st of May, 1574.

as also to the queen my good sister, and to MM. my uncles.

As for my health, it is, thank God, rather better than before I went to the baths. I have written more particularly to the said Sieur de la Mothe, who, I am sure, will have apprized them of it. For the rest, I beg you to take care to get me an ample reply to my despatch of the 8th of May, and that the memorials which I sent then, and since, be despatched, and the substance sent to M. de la Mothe, to be forwarded to me. If it please the queen of England, madam my good sister, to permit you, I should be glad if you would soon send some one to pay my household, and, at the same time, let me know, in reply, what you have to say about such of my affairs as remain to be settled, and to assist me in remodelling my estimates: for, as for Roullet, he has been twice on the point of death within the last fortnight, and it will be a long time before he can assist me again, if he should recover, of which I see no great likelihood, being decidedly consumptive, or I am much mistaken, for he has a continual wheezing, and is quite bent. Still he says he is very well, and, even within the last two days, told me he was sure he should get better. At any rate, it would be well if M. the cardinal my uncle would provide a person to take his place, his health being very precarious, and the least thing causes a

relapse; and let me know his name, and as much as you can of his disposition; for it is necessary to have patient and peaceable persons amongst prisoners, who have not all the comforts they wish; and, above all, he must not be partial in his service, otherwise it would occasion me more trouble than ease, and I have no need of that, having had enough of it already.

If, in travelling to meet the king, or, for other expences connected with this matter, you have need of some consideration, I should be glad if M. the cardinal would allow something extra, only apprizing me of it. I shall approve it, for I know you are frequently in need of aid, and have no desire that you should remain behindhand, any more than get on too fast. On the first opportunity, I will recommend you to the king, and renew my former request for you; meanwhile, be careful that all my affairs are conducted according to my orders.

Should you be permitted to send me some one with my accounts, send me, by and by, Jean de Compiegne, and let him bring me patterns of dresses, and of cloth of gold and silver, and of silks, the handsomest and the rarest that are worn at court, in order to learn my pleasure about them. Order Poissy to make me a couple of head-dresses, with a crown of gold and silver, such as were formerly made for me; and Bretan to remember his promise,

and to procure for me from Italy some new fashions of head-dresses, veils, and ribbons with gold and silver, and I will reimburse him for whatever these may cost him.

You must not forget the birds, about which I lately wrote to you, and communicate the contents of this letter to messieurs my uncles, and beg them to let me have a share of the new things which fall to them, as they do by my cousins; for, though I do not wear such myself, they will be put to a better purpose. And to conclude, I will pray God to grant you, M. de Glascow, a long and happy life.

You must not fail to call, in my name, on M. and Madame de Lorraine, and apologise for my not writing to them at present, for want of leisure. I do not doubt that they will act towards me as a kind brother and sister, having been brought up with them from my youth, and being one of their house. Do the same by my good sister, the queen of Navarre, and remember me to all my relations and friends; but more especially to my uncle, Monsieur the Cardinal de Bourbon, and to my brother the grand prior, to whom I have not time to write at present, so he never writes to me but for payment, and on behalf of his servants; at least, it is a long time since he did. Remember me like-

wise to M. and Madame de Vaudemont, and M. and Madame de Nemours, and de Nevers, and do not forget my cousin du Maine, and his brother.

Serves de Condé, an old and faithful servant, has complained to me of having been forgotten in the estimates for some years. I desire that he and his wife be placed at the head of the list; in the mean time, I have given him an order, which I beg you will see is paid him. Tell M. the cardinal, to furnish him with money to go to Scotland to take an inventory of the furniture which was in his keeping there, and to bring a certificate of what is wanting, who has it, and on what account he delivered it to them, and likewise testimonials from M. and Madame de Huthed, Lady Ledington, and Lord Seton, to whom he may deliver all that he can recover; and if I learn from you, on his return, that he has rendered a good account, and arranged matters well for the future, I will take such steps as, with your approbation, I may see fit, for keeping his son-in-law, or some other person there, as may be found most convenient.

Your very kind friend and mistress,

MARY R.

P. S. Remember me to the Bishop of Ross—I have nothing to write to him about at present.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, the 4th of September, [1574.]

Monsieur de Glascow, it pleased God to take Roullet, my secretary, out of this wretched life into his glory, on the last day but one of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, and so suddenly, that when I sent to inquire after him, as was my custom every morning, he was breathing his last, so that he said nothing when dying about what he had requested of me before. I have set down what he said, as nearly as I can recollect, in a letter which I have written to M. Ferrarius, and to Hoteman; which you will ask to see, and solicit them to accept the duty he has bequeathed them, and let me know whether they will fulfil it. He has left me the five thousand francs, which I lately made him a present of, saying that he had sufficient to fulfil his last wishes. You must inquire respecting this, and, if you find it to be so, withdraw the said sum from Hoteman, or from the treasurer, because one or the other has received it for him, and which you can retain until you hear my further intentions. Make diligent inquiry for some one to serve me as secretary, and send him to me as early as possible; for I must not act any longer in this capacity, unless I wish to kill myself.

I beg you to inform my treasurer that I am displeased, because my officers here, with the exception of one or two, are not paid according to the order I gave him; and those whom he has paid, at least Du Cartel, my surgeon, tells me that he has reckoned the crown at sixty sous. Inquire if that is the value of it, for, if he wrongs my servants to make a profit by them, I will not suffer it. He has had sufficient profit by holding their wages from them for so long a time after they were due, and in only paying those abroad whom he pleased; though there was no need for it, because they compounded with him for one half, as Chateaudun was in the habit of doing with my officers. Dolu wrote to me that he had paid all; but I see to the contrary: he has no ....., for he confesses himself that he is in my debt. I beg you will show him this part of my letter which relates to him, or let him know that I am extremely displeased, as he shall find, if he does not endeavour to satisfy my poor servants who are about me, and those who are recommended to me. I beg you will see that nothing further be done contrary to my instructions. Roullet is dead; they can no longer suspect that it is he who puts this into my head; and, as for Duvergier, he never spoke to me about him; but I insist that he and all others obey me, and follow my orders, let them displease whom they will, and,

as I am in expectation of your general despatch, I will not say more at present, but desire you to beg the cardinal, my uncle, not to permit any more money to be spent in the suit with Secondat; for I tell you plainly, that I will give it up rather than lay out another farthing upon it, let my counsel think what they please, unless they make it appear that there is a better prospect than I see at present. As far as I can learn, the six thousand francs are to be followed by more; I set my face against it: show this to my said uncle, that he may forbid them to proceed further without his consent.

I have received a letter from Saint-Cheran, applying for the situation of his brother, who is in Champagne. Tell him that, having seen the despatch, by and by, according as he behaves himself, if he treads in the steps of his brother, and relies on me only, I will willingly comply with his request, and take him into my service, for I insist that my officers, especially those who are here with me, depend entirely upon me, and no other person. If any one should urge my chancellor to do any act without first consulting me, I beg you will take care that he refuses, until my intention be known, for that was the principal reason why I took him, and that he should depend on none but me. In so

doing, I beg, as you love me, to support him, for I am resolved to be obeyed.

For the rest, present my humble remembrances to the king M. my good brother, and to the queen my good mother, and beg them to command that all privileges and things in my gift may be reserved for me, and not given away, as they have been for some years past, under the name of grants from the king. Remember me to Messrs. my uncles, to my cousins, and to all my kind relations and friends, and take care to send your despatch by a trusty person, and furnished with a safe passport for what I want, as all the letters of Senlis were taken from him. After sincerely recommending myself to your remembrance, I pray God to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

I beg you will desire my treasurer to pay the money as soon as possible to old Curl, for I fear that the assignment will be at a long date, and that he has great need of it for his poor motherless children. I recommend him to you. I have not leisure to reply to the requests of Walker, nor have I a creature to assist me; tell them they shall not be forgotten, nor yet the young lady who was to have come with Rallay, who, perhaps, some day may be in my service.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

Apprize M. the cardinal, that if any one speaks to him for the situation of *maître d'hôtel*, held by the late Esguilli, he must not promise it, for I intend to make alterations in my household, and to have this situation abolished, as I have, likewise, resolved to do in regard to many others as they become vacant. I shall do the same with Roullet's pension, leaving only the wages of a secretary for another in his place, and I will not permit any person to be placed over there on my list without my knowledge, or I shall strike them out.

Do not forget my humble remembrances to madame my grandmother. Roullet has left letters which he wrote to you, without addressing them, to M. de Ross and to M. the cardinal, whom I ought to have mentioned first: I shall reserve them for better opportunity, as they are not important, being merely on the matter concerning which he conceived himself to be suspected over there. Remember me to M. de Ross, to whom I have not leisure to write at present.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, 22 September [1574].

Monsr de Glascow, yesterday evening I received your letter of the 3rd of August, in which you mention the things and the memorandum of those sent to M. de la Mothe; but he makes no mention

of them in his letters to me, which makes me think that they are not yet come. I wish they were, as well as the accounts and other papers. I have received my watches, one of which is new. As for the request you made me, I grant it you, and shall write to my chancellor to seal it; but I have a commission, and a very particular one, to give you: it is to negociate an exchange of benefices between a brother of M. de la Mothe, ambassador of the king, monsieur my good brother, and M. de Saint-Sulpice, who, in this exchange, demands one of the three following benefices, namely, Cheusy, Meulan, or Moret, which are in the gift of M. the Cardinal my uncle. I shall write to him immediately. Deliver the letter, and solicit him in the kindest and, if need be, the most urgent manner you can, to grant me this favour, which will afford me extreme gratification. I am sure that, in a more important matter, my mere request would, without difficulty, gain the point with him: it is the first favour of this nature that I have ever asked, and it is for one to whom I am under much greater obligation than the value, even if it were a free gift; much more does it behove me for an exchange to use all my interest, which I flatter myself to be such with my good uncle that he would not refuse me a better benefice in his gift, especially as it will be so well bestowed on one to whom I am so much

indebted, that, if I had the means, I should feel bound to gratify all belonging to him. The only thing I fear, and which makes me so earnest in my solicitation, is, that he may have already disposed of it to one of his own friends. If, to oblige me, my uncle be compelled to take one of the three from any person, the brother of M. de la Mothe has a benefice which would serve in exchange for it, if he pleases. If he places the gift of it at my disposal, I shall take your advice upon it. The said Sieur de la Mothe will inform you more particularly about it. It is enough to intimate here that you will render me a most agreeable service by exerting yourself in this matter, and, if you succeed, I shall be the better pleased with your diligence, which I have no doubt of any more than if it was for yourself.

For the rest, I have heard of the safe arrival of the king, monsieur my good brother, to whom I trust you have already presented my letters; and I beg, on the receipt of this, that you will immediately make him my affectionate remembrances, reminding him, according to your duty, of whatever is requisite for the benefit of my affairs; as also to the queen, madame my good mother, whom, above all, you must on my part solicit to be pleased to ensure to me the rights and appointment to offices in my gift, which have frequently been violated

in various ways, by preserving them for me, and to this end ordering the court of parliament no more to ill treat me on account of offices of judicature than the other dowagers, and the other tenants of the domains, and that they leave to me the free disposal of them. For the rest, remind them that I have been in a similar predicament in regard to appointments to captainships and other offices, such as those held by Puyguillem and others, and which they pretend to say were given them by the king. I wish to have this matter cleared up; and I trust, on his accession, I shall experience his favour as one of the most affectionate of sisters, and wife of that brother who loved him above all the others. I leave to your discretion to urge whatever you think necessary for the benefit of my affairs, begging you will also recommend me and them to Monsieur the Duke, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and other lords, my kind relatives and friends. I beg you, if the things are not yet sent off, to hasten them, and recommend me to the good graces of M. the Cardinal my uncle, soliciting him to carry into execution the declaration of my will, which I lately sent over to him, and from which I have drawn up the enclosed short memorandum by way of answer as to what is most urgent. After M. le Cardinal has seen it, you will forward it to my chancellor, to be laid before my

council, so that they may not proceed another step in that suit, about which in particular I am so displeased.

You will have heard of the death of Roullet, which I gave you an account of. I am waiting for the things, but, as I have no memorandum of them, I cannot at present order what more I want, so I will conclude, begging you to commend me to all my relations. You will also present the two squares of my work to M. the cardinal, my uncle: they have been a part of my occupation. And I will pray God, Monsieur de Glascow, to grant you health and a long and happy life.

If M. the Cardinal of Guise, my uncle, is gone to Lyons, I am sure he will send me a couple of pretty little dogs; and you must buy me two more; for, besides writing and work, I take pleasure only in all the little animals that I can get. You must send them in baskets, that they may be kept very warm.

Your very kind mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

Memorandum of what I at present consider necessary should be done in my affairs, until I can more amply reply to the representations made to me from France, touching my said affairs and the particular requests of my servants, whom I will speedily satisfy, God willing, after I am supplied

with a secretary, which I have already required and demanded.

In the first place, respecting the suit with Secondat, I do not find in all that has been sent to me any apparent reason why I should lay out any more money on the said suit; I am therefore displeased that so little attention has been paid to my interest, as to proceed so far without my consent. In consideration whereof, and the uncertainty of the issue, and that those who have involved me in it can give me no better advice than to sink more money than I can ever get back, I insist that the said suit be settled without incurring further risk, or that this gift be delivered back to the king, so that I may be relieved from it as a thing managed entirely to my annoyance and injury; and, if what has been already expended can be recovered, let means be used forthwith, otherwise I would rather lose what I have laid out upon it, than risk more at the hazard of having to pay expenses of which others will have reaped the benefit. Let the opinion of my counsel be what it may, M. the cardinal my uncle will, if he pleases, command my chancellor, and others whom it may concern, in order that my intention be fulfilled, that they proceed in one of the two ways that he shall deem most expedient, on which I beg him to give me his opinion, seeing no better remedy

to save me from greater inconvenience, to which this suit might lead. And my ambassador shall, if need be, entreat the king and his council for his assistance and favour to rid me of this suit, representing the injury it is to me, instead of benefit.

Moreover, I beg M. the cardinal to command especial obedience to be paid to the fifth article of the instructions of my said chancellor respecting the registers. Henceforward, let my money be put in the coffer, even that which the treasurer is indebted on rendering his accounts, with the exception of that which shall have been assigned in payment by me; and if my said treasurer says that he has not yet received it, let him go or send to the spot, and show his diligence in recovering the said moneys.

Let the servants with me, who have not yet been paid, have the whole of what is due to them up to the present year, the wages for which I desire to be sent over to all those who are here, by a special messenger, who shall take back their receipts.

I entreat the cardinal, my said uncle, to see to it, that I am promptly obeyed on all the above points.

Given at the Monor of Sheffield, xxii[d] September, MDLXXIV.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

Sheffield, the 13th November [1574].

M. de Glascow, having received the sweetmeats by the hands of the bearer, the brother of my chancellor, Duvergier, I have thought it right to give you a line by him, merely to tell you that I am well, thank God, and waiting for my secretary, and if you do not make haste and send him, you will hear no more from me, for so much writing makes me ill. Till then, I shall not write to you about business; but do not forget, as you are so often at Lyons, to send my little dogs. For the rest, Madame de Briante has returned into France, where she is likely to have a great deal to do, especially with her brother-in-law, respecting her dowry. If she has need of my interest with him, or with any other, or with those of the law, I beg you to do all in your power to assist her, and request M. the cardinal my uncle to do what he can for her in all her affairs; and, if she needs letters of recommendation from him, or from any of my relatives or kindred, you must procure them for her in my name, with leave of my said uncle; so that, if she has occasion to solicit the settlement of her suits in Paris, he may, for my sake, accommodate her with apartments in some one of his houses that may be most suitable. She is an excellent and virtuous lady, and an old servant of the late queen my mother and of myself, and her

daughter is daily rendering me most agreeable service. But you are so well acquainted with her merits and virtues, that I shall not make this letter any longer, unless to pray to God, after recommending myself to your good graces, to grant you, M. de Glascow, health and a long and happy life.

Your very good friend and mistress,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, 20th February [1575].

Monsieur de Glascow, I am much astonished that, on so melancholy an event,[o] I have neither received information nor consolation from you. I cannot attribute this to anything but the extreme sorrow you feel for the loss I have sustained; yet, God be praised, if he sends me afflictions, he has, thus far, given me grace to support them. Though I cannot, at the first moment, command my feelings, or prevent the tears that will flow, yet my long adversity has taught me to hope for consolation for all my afflictions in a better life. Alas! I am a prisoner, and God has bereft me of one of those persons whom I most loved; what shall I say more? He has bereft me, at one blow, of my father and my uncle: I shall now follow, whenever

[o] The death of the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, which took place at Avignon, 26th December, 1574.

He pleases, with less regret; but yet, instead of comforting me, do not distress yourself too much on my account, lest I might be deprived of a good and faithful servant, which, I feel assured, I have in you.

I have made some new regulations, as you will see, but merely with the intention of investing you with the power of providing for those legacies which are most urgent. I beg and command you to accept the charge without any hesitation, and to attend to my affairs, and do your utmost, that I may, in everything, be strictly obeyed. There are some moneys which you will oblige by seeing to it that my treasurer collects. For the rest, you will be made acquainted with the subject by my said instructions, and by what I have commanded your brother to write to you; for, as you may perceive by the marks on this, it is painful to me to write on this subject. I had no need to be told of this event; as I had a frightful dream, from which I awoke fully convinced of that which was subsequently confirmed. I beg you will write me a particular account of everything, and if he spoke of me before his death, for that would be a consolation to me.

I send you a letter to be delivered to the King, M. my good brother, in which I recommend you to him. Hasten the departure of Nau, for I can

do nothing respecting my accounts without him. Send me the head-dresses from Poissy, and other things as soon as you can, and be sure to remind the king and the queen of my affairs, the more so as I have need of their favour and assistance, and comfort for me, if you can, madame my grandmother, my uncle M. the cardinal,[p] and my aunt, and tell me all the news respecting them, which I pray God may be good, that he may have you in his holy keeping.

You will inform Lord Farnhers that I have heard of his arrival over there, and shall be glad to render him any service, as also to Haumenes and Hakerston, to whom I shall write on the arrival of my secretary; meanwhile, I shall not forget them.

Your very good mistress and friend,

MARY R.

I beg you to follow up the affair of the priory, of which I before wrote to you, with my cousin de Fescaut, as you did with monsieur the late cardinal my uncle. I have written a few words to him, which you must deliver, and beg him to let me know his decision, and let me know, as speedily as possible, what answer he gives. Send Nau to me without delay.

I had forgotten to beg you to stand sponsor, in

[p] The Cardinal de Guise, Louis de Lorraine, died in 1578; he was brother to Cardinal de Lorraine.

my name, for M. Duvergier's infant; if it is a boy, name him after yourself—if a girl, Antoinette. You are acquainted with the custom, and that the present and the money must be given in the chamber, in the usual manner. A chain for the waist, and another for the neck, of a moderate price, must serve for the present. I forgot to tell you that I wrote to you some time ago, begging you to assist the good lady Seyton in her affairs, with my name and interest; but I have been told you never received those letters: I, however, trust these few words will suffice for this purpose of recommendation, and I am sure that you will exert yourself so readily, that I shall not have occasion to repeat my request; remember me to her, and let her be paid agreeably to what you will perceive to be my intention in the memorandum.

1575. *September.* M. Castelnau de Mauvissière succeeds M. de la Mothe Fénélon, as French ambassador at the Court of England.

The Duke of Alençon, having taken part in a plot against his brother, Henry III., quits the court, and places himself at the head of the Huguenots.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, the 12th of February [1576].

M. de Glascow, I am highly pleased with my watch, and admire it so much for its pretty devices, that I must thank you for it. Do not forget my arms and devices, about which Nau, my secretary,

has written to you; and especially those of monsieur my late grandfather, and madame my grandmother. I am very fond of my little dogs; but I am afraid they will grow large. The Sieur de Mauvissières, ambassador of the most Christian king, monsieur my good brother, has begged me to accept some barbets[q] and sporting dogs, of the purest breed, and I immediately begged the Earl of Shrewsbury to assist me in this matter, as nobody has access here. He has given me three barbets, and two of the others, which he has been assured are good ones; but, after we had them, the Sieur Mauvissières informed me that he should keep them a little longer, and, as I should not have a better opportunity of sending them than by my servants, I have done so, and beg you will try them and see what they can do, and, if they are good, send them to my cousin de Guise, to be presented to the king, if they are of the sort that he wants; and let me know what sort it is that he wishes to have, for I am sure the said earl will not refuse to let me get more, as they will be well bestowed. I am a prisoner, and, therefore, cannot form any opinion of the dogs, except of their beauty, for I am not allowed to ride out on horseback, or to the chase. Recommending myself to you, I pray God to have you in his keeping.

[q] Now commonly called poodles.

Do not forget to solicit for my physician, and permission for me to go to the baths, of which I have great need, having been very ill for the last three months.

Your very good mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

1576. *May* 9. Treaty of pacification. The Duke of Alençon is reconciled with the king, and takes the title of Duke of Anjou.

Death of Bothwell in Denmark, leaving a declaration exonerating the Queen of Scots from all participation in the murder of Henry Darnley.

Declaration of the Earl of Bothwell, addressed to the King of Denmark.[r]

In order that the King of Denmark and the council of his kingdom may be better and more clearly informed of the wickedness and treachery of my accusers hereunder named, I have (as summarily as I am able) explained and truly declared the causes of the troubles and commotions which have occurred; of which they alone have been the

r This is an interesting document, though the accuracy of many of the details may justly be impugned. It was unknown to any of the historians or biographers who have treated of the events of the period to which it relates. The original manuscript, preserved in the library of the King of Sweden, at the palace of Drottningholm, is accompanied by an attestation of the Chevalier de Dantzay, ambassador from France to the courts of Sweden and Denmark, who was in the latter country when Bothwell arrived there, and to whom he delivered it, being unable to get it conveyed through any other channel to the hands of the king. That document is as follows:—

"I received this instruction [the memorial] at the castle of Malmoe, the 13th day of January, in the year 1568, from James Bothwel, Earl of Bothwel, Duke of the Orkney Isles, husband of the Queen

principal authors and promoters, from the year 1559 to the present time.

I have similarly declared their calumnies, and the mischief and detriment they have occasioned to myself: which statement I can and will maintain to be true, as (with God's assistance) any one may clearly see and understand.

At Copenhagen, the eve of Twelfth day, 1568.

Here follow the names of the principal chiefs and authors of all the troubles and seditions in question.

Earls Murray,	Lord Lindsay,
Atthel,	Secretary Ledington,
Glencarn,	The Clerk of the Register,
Morton,	The Clerk of the Justice.
Marr,	

Also those who have joined the above-named in these latter troubles.

Lords Hume	Tillebairn,
Sawquhair,	The Mayor of Edinburgh,
Sempel,	Sir James Balfour.
Reufuen.	

The above-named, tired of the obedience and fidelity which they owed to their superior, began to concert measures and hold secret assemblies in

of Scotland, &c., and delivered it at Helsingburg to Mr. Peter Oxe, present Mr. Johan Friz, chancellor, the 16th of January, whereupon I received from themselves the answer thereto at the castle of Copenhagen, the 21st of the said month."

all parts of the kingdom, in order to excite the common people to favour their views. And the better to persuade them that their cause was just and good, they put forth the pretext of desiring to uphold religion; and thus the conspiracy they had formed against their queen (I shall forbear to mention many other offences of which they are guilty) commenced by laying siege to the town of Leith, and their efforts continued to be directed against her majesty, the members of her council, and her other faithful subjects in the said town. Also they persecuted those who were scattered over the country at their different residences, and who had refused to join their party, doing them all the mischief in their power, by pillaging their houses and castles, and caused infinite detriment to many worthy persons in all parts of the kingdom, notwithstanding the queen, with the nobility and others of her subjects, had previously resolved to reform the said religion and put it in good order, without, however, subjecting them to any restraint.

Moreover, not content with this, they persevered in their wicked machinations, and prepared the way for new troubles, by giving free ingress to the English, our ancient enemies; uniting themselves in secret alliance with them against the queen an those of her kingdom. They renewed the siege of the town of Leith (which they had been forced to abandon) in order to expel the French, who were

in possession of the town, and defending it against our ancient enemies aforesaid.

The most Christian king had, a short time before, married the young Queen of Scotland; in consequence of which event, the nobility and others of the subjects of the kingdom made him certain promises, and even sent letters by special messengers to his majesty in France, tendering him their allegiance, as became good subjects: but I am ignorant of the cause that induced them to do so.

In the mean time, in consequence of reinforcements from England, the said town had surrendered, agreeably to a treaty between her said majesty and the Queen of England, and negotiated by their ambassadors; in which treaty it was stipulated that all former hatred and animosity, as well on the one side as on the other, should be at an end. Nevertheless, in the malevolence of their hearts, they carefully sought out those who had previously offended them, or impeded their proceedings during the said siege; especially myself, who (although unworthy of such a distinction) had been appointed lieutenant-general of the queen my mistress, to provide for the exigencies of the war; in the course of which I had, according to the laws of arms, taken several prisoners, both Scotch and English, and in all respects had done my best to acquit myself of my duty. Moreover, I had captured upon

the frontiers a certain sum in money, which had been sent from England for the pay and maintenance of their troops.

Shortly after the surrender of Leith, and the return of the French to their own country, his most Christian majesty died. Upon which the queen, by the advice of her friends, and at the solicitation of her faithful subjects, thought of returning to her own kingdom. Which design she put in execution, the better to confirm the alliance and treaty abovementioned, and to reward her faithful subjects for the services they had performed during her absence. Among others she rewarded me much more liberally and graciously than I had deserved, a circumstance which incensed my enemies to the greatest degree, and induced them to exert themselves so successfully to my detriment as to deprive me of the favour and good-will of her said majesty. Also they caused the dismissal of the Earls of Arran and Huntly; the said Earl Arran as being a near relation of her majesty, and therefore eligible to succeed to the crown; and Earl Huntly and myself as being capable of frustrating their designs.

The principal agent in this seditious proceeding was Earl Murray, an illegitimate brother of her said majesty, and formerly canon and prier of St. Andrews, who considered that our ruin would be very advantageous to him; that, when we should be disposed of, he should easily accomplish the ob-

ject he had in view, namely, that of becoming the second person in the kingdom; and that afterwards he should contrive that the queen, the nobility, and in short all ranks of Scotchmen, would unanimously consent to his being heir to the crown, as well as his issue or next of kin, in the event of the queen dying without an heir.

And, to give a colouring to his presumption, he falsely gave out that Earl Arran and myself (who had recently adjusted a little difference that had formerly existed between us) entertained designs against his life, as well as against that of certain other members of the council; also, that I had it in contemplation to take the queen by surprise, and to convey her away to some one of my residences, in which I should deem her person most secure.

In consequence of these false accusations, we were ordered into close confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, notwithstanding we had demanded that judicial proceedings should be instituted, and that we should be legally heard in our defence, as such an affair required; which demand was not, however, acceded to.

Earl Huntly, who had been charged with the same offence, and was not on his guard against his enemies, was surprised while on a journey, and secretly put to death by the said Earl Murray. The son of Earl Huntly was also taken, tried, and con-

demned; and the whole of their property forfeited to the crown.

On being informed of this scandalous murder and most unjust persecution, I began to consider within myself by what means I might ascertain the real opinion and feelings entertained by the queen towards me; and succeeded in learning that she was persuaded I had been accused from motives of personal animosity and envy; but that at the present moment she was quite unable to afford me the smallest assistance, being in fact destitute of all authority. She recommended me, however, to do the best I could for myself.

In consequence of this favourable reply, I used my utmost exertions to obtain my release from confinement, and, having succeeded, determined to proceed to France by sea. A tempest, however, drove me upon the coast of England, where the queen of that country received me with great demonstrations of friendship, as did also several of her faithful servants, far beyond any thing I could have expected, especially as during the war I had done serious mischief upon the frontiers of her kingdom, as well as to those who inhabited them.

I afterwards quitted England, and proceeded on my journey to France, having previously received certain letters from the Queen of Scotland, addressed to his most Christian Majesty, and the

members of his council, the object of which was to secure to me the distinctions conferred there upon the nobility of our country, according to the tenor of an ancient treaty passed between the two said kingdoms of France and Scotland. Having obtained these, I received letters from the Queen of Scotland, in which she commanded me to return to her dominions for the following reasons.

The queen, being aware of the crafty and malicious designs of her enemies, and being desirous of tranquillizing her kingdom, and of establishing good order therein, for the benefit and relief of her subjects, resolved to marry a young prince of her own blood, who to that end had come from England to Scotland, trusting (as reasonably she might) that none would presume to offer any impediment to such union. Nevertheless, the seditious persons before-mentioned did oppose it to the utmost of their power; because they desired before all things that the queen should have no issue, for the reasons already stated, and because they could not endure that any one should have authority in the kingdom besides themselves; and they could not but foresee that their influence would be diminished by the said marriage.

For this cause, having consulted with each other, they resolved to murder the said prince, and convoked their friends and accomplices to that end.

Also, shortly after the marriage of the said queen and the said prince, the said conspirators deliberated with each other about seizing the said queen, carrying her away and detaining her as a prisoner; the which they afterwards effected, wickedly and in violation of their faith and promises, as well as of the conditions upon which they had agreed among themselves, as will appear by what follows.

Being at that time returned from France, her Majesty gave me the command of a certain military force composed of her faithful subjects and my own particular friends, with whom I did my utmost to drive the said Earl Murray out of the kingdom of Scotland into England; the which I accomplished. At the same time the states were assembled to inquire and determine as to the property to be confiscated to the crown.

Among the accomplices of Earl Murray, there were some who followed the court of the Queen, and who, in order to avert the sentence, excited fresh disturbances by means of a murder perpetrated on the person of a Signor David, an Italian; which murder was committed in the drawing-room of the Queen at the Castle of Edinburgh, during her supper, when none of her guards was present, nor even any of those who observed the said Queen. And if (to avoid the danger) several gentlemen and myself had not escaped by a window at the back

of the building, we should not have been better treated; it having been so agreed between them. The least that could have happened would have been, that we should be compelled to connive at so wicked and detestable an act.

The said murder having been committed by the advice and at the instigation of the accomplices of Earl Murray, the said Earl returned from England, hoping to seize the reins of government and detain the Queen prisoner; she having been previously very much confined to her own residence, called St. Croix, (Hellirodis.[s])

As an excuse for the said murder, they alleged that they had received the positive commands of their King, both by letters and otherwise, to commit it.

Having escaped out of the residence of the said Queen, and being in safety, we collected together some of our best friends and of her Majesty's faithful subjects, in order to rescue her and the King her husband from the captivity in which they were detained. Which design we accomplished, partly by stratagem and partly by force. The following day their Majesties proceeded together towards Edinburgh with a good escort, and pursued Earl Murray and his accomplices so actively that they were forced to leave the country. Moreover, the

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Queen, being highly indignant at such an assassination, held them in great hatred; as did also the nobility and the rest of her subjects. But the King himself held them in still greater detestation; for, immediately upon his arrival in the said town, he caused to be proclaimed and published, that all that the said murderers (who had killed the said David) had affirmed, touching his Majesty, was by them falsely invented; and expressly commanded all ranks, officers, and subjects of the said kingdom, to make diligent search and arrest those who should have been concerned with the said murderers in the said act, whosoever they might be, and punish them with death; and that if any should be found to lend them secret assistance, they should receive corporal punishment. Further, that those who should faithfully execute his said commands should be liberally rewarded. And, to set an example to others, he in the mean time caused to be arrested four of those who had been present at the said murder; two of whom were executed on the spot.

As soon as some of the friends of those who were in exile were made acquainted with the severe punishment awarded them by the King, they failed not to apprise the others of it; who, in consequence thereof, conceived such a violent hatred to his Majesty, that they diligently sought all means to be

revenged of him, as well on account of his denial of the letters and other instructions they alleged to have received from him, as from the conviction entertained by themselves and others, that, during his Majesty's life, they would never be able to live in Scotland in safety, but that they should always be alike uncertain of their life, their property, and their honours.

Some time afterwards (the better to accomplish their malicious designs) they promised to forget the past, and, by acting the part of sincere friends, satisfy those whom they had formerly offended and treated in a hostile manner. By such representations and fair words they solicited all who had it in their power to assist them in recovering the good graces of the Queen. Among others, they addressed themselves to me with the same view; upon which I did what I could for them, insomuch that they obtained their request: for they placed great reliance on me, on account of the favour bestowed on me by her Majesty, and of the free access I had to her; the which I had acquired solely by the faithful services I had performed, as well in the wars of her late mother, as in her own; in furtherance of which I had several times exposed my life, besides incurring considerable expenses; for which, however, she has liberally recompensed me, as well by presents as by various appointments

of authority with which her Majesty has honoured me.

When I had obtained for them the favour they sought, and they were permitted to follow the court, I deliberated with myself about retiring to live peaceably after the imprisonments and exile I had suffered, and withdrawing from a scene of political hostility and revenge.

In the mean time those to whom such favour had been shown, and who now followed the court, conducted themselves in so obedient, so devoted, and so benevolent a manner, that all the gentry of the kingdom rejoiced at it exceedingly; especially on account of the extinction of the animosities which had previously disturbed the said court. Notwithstanding which they never ceased to persevere in their evil intentions; seeking day and night the means of taking the King's life.

Some time afterwards the King, being attacked with the small-pox, slept at a place called Kirkfield (to avoid endangering the health of the Queen and the child), until he should recover; and this by the common consent of the Queen and of the members of the council, who were desirous of preserving the health of all three.

Then the traitors, perceiving the occasion to be so suitable to their purposes, placed a quantity of gunpowder under the king's bed, and afterwards

set fire to it, whereby he was blown up and killed.[t] This was done at the residence of Sir James Balfour, upon whom the queen had conferred a benefice and the government of the castle of Edinburgh, and to whom she had confided all her treasure, jewels, plate, dresses, and furniture, the said castle being the strongest place in the kingdom.

On the night that this was committed, several members of her council were lodged, as usual, at the residence of the queen, called St. Croix (Hellirodis;)[u] I was also lodged within the building, in that quarter where the guard is commonly stationed, which consisted of fifty men. And whilst I was yet in bed, and my first wife, a sister of Earl Huntly, with me, her brothers came in the morning to ap-

[t] Darnley, and Taylor, his servant, who slept in the same apartment with his master, were first strangled, and their bodies carried into the adjacent garden, before the house was blown up; and there they were found in the morning, without any marks of violence. The gunpowder was not placed in an upper room under the bed, but must have been deposited at the bottom of the house, which was razed to the foundation.

In a letter written by Mary, the day after the catastrophe, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, she says:—"Of the hail loging, wallis, and other, there is nathing remainit, na, not a stane above another, but all either carreit far away or dung in dross to the very ground stane. It mon be done by force of powder and appearis to have been a myne." ..... "We assure ourself it was dressit als wel for us as for the king; for we lay the maist part of all the last week in that same loging, and was thair accompany'd with the maist part of the lordis that ar in this town that same night at midnight, and of very chance taryit not all night, be reason of sum mask in the abbaye; but we believe it was not chance but God to put it in our hede."

[u] Holyrood House.

prize me of the king's death, at which I was much grieved, and many others with me.

The said Earl Huntly was of opinion that we should instantly hold a consultation as to the best means of securing the traitors who had committed the said act.

We were then commanded by the queen, who was much distressed and afflicted, together with the members of the council, to assemble some troops, in order to make diligent search for the said traitors, and, if possible, to arrest them. This we proceeded to do; and, being at the house where the king was lying dead, we first caused his body to be taken and placed under the care of a suitable guard; and then, having found a barrel (or cask) which had contained the powder, we kept it, having first inspected it to see what marks it bore. In the first moments of fury, we arrested several persons suspected of the fact, and detained them until they gave sufficient evidence of the place where they were when the murder was committed; and, in the mean time, I continued to make diligent inquiry into all the circumstances of the case, never imagining that I should myself be suspected. However, some of the members of the council, fearing lest the attention of the queen and myself should be directed to them, entered into a league with each other against her majesty and us to prevent it.

They accordingly exerted all their malice and ingenuity, by affixing letters and placards at night to the court-house, the church doors, and about the streets and highways, in order to render me and my friends suspected of the said act.

On learning that I was, by these means, censured and accused of having committed such a crime, of which I and all mine were innocent (as I call God to witness), I besought the queen and her council to allow legal proceedings to be instituted against me, in order that if, upon strict inquiry, I should be found guilty, I might be punished as such a crime would deserve; but, if found innocent (as in truth I am),[v] that such scandalous reports should cease. This request was granted; and, on the day appointed for the trial, the members of the council assembled, together with many of the nobility and common people, in the place where I was to be arraigned. Among the said members of the council and nobility, who were to sit in judgment upon the question, were the following persons, who were decidedly hostile to me: — Earl Morton, Lords Reufeun, Lindsay, and Sempel, the secretary, the justice clerk, and the clerk register. When the charges against me had been read, and my adver-

[v] Notwithstanding Bothwell's vehement protestations of his innocence, there cannot be a doubt that the murder was actually perpetrated by him, but at the instigation of those who were then invested with the chief power.

saries (especially their principal, the Earl of Lennox, who had been summoned, but did not attend), were convinced that there was no just cause of complaint against me, affecting either my person, property, or honour, I was, according to the laws and customs of the country, by the direction of my judges and with the consent of my opponents then present, declared innocent, and absolved from all that of which I had been accused; which consisted of having assisted in compassing and committing the murder perpetrated on the person of King Henry, my lord and master; which charges could in no wise be supported; while I, on the contrary, proved, by the respectable witnesses that I produced, in what place I was when that calamity occurred. On hearing that I was declared innocent, my opponents and enemies rose, and earnestly besought me not to proceed against them on account of the unfounded charges they had brought against me; but the feelings of their heart, and the fair expressions of their lips, were completely at variance, as I have since experienced, and continue to experience even now.

For the second time, according to the usage of the country and the laws of war, I caused public proclamations to be read in Edinburgh, and letters sealed with my own seal to be affixed to the church-doors, the court-house, and other public places, in the form

following: — "For the defence of my honour and reputation: if there be any one, whether noble or commoner, rich or poor, disposed to accuse me of treason, secret or overt, let him present himself, that I may give him combat in this unjust cause." Which challenge no man ever thought fit to accept.

For the third time I made my excuses before a general assembly of the three estates, comprising the nobility of the country; all the bishops, abbots, and priors, and all the principal inhabitants of the kingdom; by which assembly my whole trial and sentence were read and revised, in order to determine whether my cause had been legally tried or not, and whether any fraudulent proceeding had occurred respecting them. It was then said and declared that the whole had been conducted with rectitude and justice, and according to the law of the country, so that I accordingly remained free and acquitted of all accusation. Moreover, it was decreed, by public proclamation, that, from that day forward, no one should presume, on pain of death, to accuse or calumniate either me or mine on account of the said transaction. After I had gained my cause (as has been stated), they came to me, at my own house, of their own free will and without being solicited, twenty-eight members of the said parliament; namely, twelve earls, eight bishops, and eight gentlemen, who did me the honour of

offering me their support and friendship, as follows: —

First, they declared their conviction that I had done my duty in defending my honour against the charges which had been preferred against me; and, secondly, their determination on that account to employ their persons, property, relations, and friends, and every thing dependent upon them, in defending me against all who should thenceforth in any wise persecute me on account of the said crime. Moreover, each of them thanked me, particularly for the friendly manner in which I had behaved towards them; adding that the queen was now a widow; that of children she had but one, a young prince; that they would not consent that she should marry a foreigner; and that I appeared to them the most worthy of her of any in the kingdom. That these things considered, they had resolved to do what they could to facilitate such marriage, and that they would oppose all who should endeavour to raise any impediment to it.

At the same time, they consulted together as to how I might legitimately repudiate my first princess, according to the divine laws of the church and the custom of the country: upon which question they immediately came to an agreement. Also, they forthwith conferred with the queen

about the means by which our marriage might be regularly solemnized in presence of the church.

The marriage being accomplished, and every thing relating to it duly and regularly completed, I was presented with the government of the kingdom, to the end that I might establish good order therein, especially on the frontiers of England, on account of the murders, pillage, and robbery there committed on both sides. To this desire I acceded; and accordingly departed from Edinburgh with the queen, who was desirous of accompanying me as far as a castle, situated at about seven leagues from the town of Bortuick, where she proposed to remain till my return.

On arriving upon the frontiers, I found the enemy so strong as to make it impossible I should accomplish my intentions; wherefore I returned immediately to the said Bortuick (where the queen had remained) to assemble greater forces.

At this time, the before-mentioned seditious persons, my enemies, seeing that I had taken the field with only a very small force, exerted all their efforts to surround me and take my life.

I accordingly proceeded with all diligence to collect together my friends, and the faithful subjects of the queen. In which I so far succeeded that I delivered the queen from the said castle, and put our enemies to flight; whom I pursued as

far as Edinburgh, where they were received; the said town and castle abandoning us and surrendering to them.

Earl Huntly, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and several other members of the council, who were at that time in the said town of Edinburgh, armed themselves immediately that they saw this change, to defend themselves against the seditious party, and to preserve the said town; which design, however, they were unable to accomplish, their opponents being too strong, so that we were disappointed in that quarter.

Finding themselves unable successfully to oppose the disaffected, the said earl and archbishop, in order to provide for their own safety, voluntarily surrendered to the castle, upon condition that they should be at liberty to quit the place whenever they might think proper; but this stipulation was disregarded by the opposite party.

Then the queen and myself, in order to rescue them, departed from the castle of Dunbar with as many men, faithful subjects of her majesty, as we could collect in so short a time, and approached within about a German league of the said Edinburgh; whereupon the disaffected came forth from the said town, and encamped opposite to us within the range of gun-shot.

Shortly afterwards there came to us a gentle-

man deputed by them, who presented us with a printed[w] statement of the causes which had brought them there, as follows:—

First, to deliver the queen from the captivity in which I held her. And, secondly, to revenge the murder of the late king, already described, of which I and mine were accused.

With respect to the first point, I replied, that I was not in any wise holding the queen in captivity; but, on the contrary, that I loved and honoured her as she deserved; for the truth of which statement I appealed to herself.

With regard to the second, I continued to deny having participated in, or consented to the murder of his said majesty; adding, that, although I had been already clearly and sufficiently justified, I was still ready, if any gentleman of honour and unexceptionable extraction was disposed to accuse me of such a deed, immediately to defend my honour and my life between the two armies, agreeably to the letters on that subject which I had formerly caused to be published in Edinburgh, and to the ancient usages of war.

Whereupon it was answered, that there was one Lord Lindsay, who was prepared to meet me in the field; which proposal, the queen, and the gentlemen who were with her, considered unreason-

[w] Supposed to mean *written*.

able, upon the following grounds:—that the said Lord Lindsay was not of such a parentage as to be comparable to me, nor of such an ancestry or house; and that, moreover, I was a husband worthy of the queen.

Nevertheless, I so persuaded the queen, and all of them, by the many reasons I urged, that they eventually consented that the combat should take place.

Shortly afterwards I repaired to the field of action, to await the arrival of my antagonist, where I remained till very late in the evening. He did not, however, make his appearance, as I will prove (when necessary) by the testimony of five thousand gentlemen, upon pain of forfeiting my life.[x] As night approached, I prepared to give battle to the enemy, by putting my troops in marching order, they also doing the like on their side.

The queen, seeing me and her good subjects on

[x] Chalmers gives the following account of this challenge:—"Bothwell now sent a herald to the adverse camp, offering to prove his innocence by single combat. James Murray, who had placarded Bothwell, and his elder brother, the comptroller of the queen's household, offered successively to accept the challenge; but Bothwell objected to both as inferior to him in rank. Bothwell now challenged Morton by name, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and appointed the weapons to be two-handed swords, and the conflict to be on foot. Lord Lindsay now stepped out, and begged Morton to allow him the honour of fighting for his innocence and Bothwell's guilt. Morton readily assented, but the queen is said to have commanded them to desist."

the one side, and the seditious party on the other, ready to commence hostilities, Grange, (who was one of the best officers among our adversaries) reminded her of the motive of their being there assembled, which was to deliver her majesty from the miserable bondage in which I held her, the which she openly denied before all; and, seeing us ready to commence the attack, she, being anxious to prevent by all means in her power the effusion of blood on either side, went over to them, accompanied by the said Grange, in order to discuss the subject, and arrange matters quietly. And, believing that she might go over to them in safety, without fear of treachery, and that no one would presume to molest her person, she requested me not to advance farther with my troops. Upon which I advised her to look well to what she was about to do, and not to sacrifice herself to her own good intentions; adding that I was well acquainted with the treachery of their hearts, and that if she failed to consent to their proposals, they would take her prisoner, and unjustly deprive her of her authority. Also I besought her to retire to Dunbar, and suffer us to defend her just cause, agreeably to our desire of honouring and serving her, and to our devotion to the public welfare, and the repose of our country. Finding it, however, impossible to divert her from her purpose, or to induce her to

listen to my representations, I entreated her at all events to demand a guarantee of safe conduct for her person, with certain other conditions, which I should propose. Whereupon Grange gave his own solemn promise and assurance to that effect in their name.

And it should be mentioned that the said Grange represented himself as being sent, at the unanimous request of their whole party, for the sole purposes of tendering their allegiance to her majesty as their superior, and of giving her assurances of safe conduct in negotiating with them; and that each of them, according to his station and dignity, desired nothing more than to give her (after God) all honour and obedience in every thing that it might please her majesty to command.

When every thing was agreed upon, under a promise of inviolable adherence to the terms stipulated by the two armies in presence of the nobles and others then assembled, the queen requested me to return with my troops to Dunbar, where she would speedily join me; or, at all events, I should hear from her.

Wherefore I departed from her, according to her desire, relying upon the solemn promise which had been given, as well orally as in writing. These things being considered, it is easy for any one to perceive that their intention was, had always been,

and is still, to invade the authority and power of the queen their natural princess, and, under the pretext already stated (that she was deprived of the free exercise of her authority), to assume the direction of her kingdom, and give the law therein.

Every thing being thus arranged, I quitted the queen; and she went over to them, who immediately took possession of her person, and placed it in safe custody; first, at the castle of Edinburgh, where she remained only one night; and the following day at another, situated on a small island, called Lochleven; to the end that she might be unable either to apprise us of what had occurred, or to hear from us, and also from fear lest we should take measures to rescue her.

Seeing the tardy and treacherous proceedings of our enemies, we assembled with the gentlemen hereafter named, and the nobility, first in the west, and afterwards in the north, advising of the means to be adopted for her majesty's deliverance.

The Duke of Schettelarault.

Earls.	Archbishops.	Lords.
Huntly.	St. André.	Heris.
Argile.	Glascau.	Setoun.
Crafuirdt.	Bishops.	Oliphant.
Errel.	Dunkel.	Bridt.
Merschal.	Aberdin.	Bortuick.

Earls.	Bishops.	Lords.
Eglentoun.	Murray.	Gray.
Cassels.	Ros.	Ogelby.
Rothes.	Dumbleu.	Glams.
Montrois.	Gallaway.	Jester.
Caithnes.	Argeil.	Sommeruel.
Suderlandt.	Brethin.	Drummundt.
Montheith.	Ilis.	Lowat.
	Abbots.	Saltoun.
	Arbroth.	Forbes.
	Dunfermelingh	Elphinstoun.
	Meurhrous.	Flemingh.
	Kylwimingh.	Leuingstoun.
	Deix.	
	Kinlos.	
	Glenlois.	
	Corsragold.	

We were all of opinion that it would be prudent to wait a short time, and not pursue them hastily whilst their first fury lasted, and whilst they were naturally expecting we should attempt to rescue the queen; whose life would certainly have been put in imminent danger had we immediately done so.

It was, however, unanimously resolved by all that were there present — and those who were unavoidably absent ratified the decision by letters under their seal—that I should proceed to France by Denmark, where I might provide all things necessary

for the present emergency, and for the sending of a military force into Scotland, as well by sea as by land; also for the purpose of laying a complaint before the King of Denmark, and of relating to him the circumstances of our case, all of us conceiving that by these means the said king might be induced to give me his good advice, succour, aid, and favour; the better to insure which, it was further agreed that I should tender him my services, and the offer of every thing in my power. This measure, they were convinced, would meet the queen's approbation; but, for greater security, I contrived to obtain her opinion upon it, which was, that she entirely concurred with the advice I had received, and begged me to put the plan in execution as speedily as possible.

This done, I embarked from the north of Scotland with the design of following the advice above stated. And having business in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, I went there, but remained only two days. I, however, went ashore in the Shetland Isles, where I met with some vessels from Bremen and Hamburgh, with the masters of which I endeavoured to make an agreement as to what I should give them per month so long as they should continue in my service; for, owing to the haste with which I had set out, I had been unable to provide myself with suitable vessels, and had been

compelled to take such as I could find, which were very small.

The agreement I made with the man from Bremen, named Girard Hemlin, was, that I should pay him fifty crowns per month as long as he might remain in my service; and that if his vessel should be lost, or I should be desirous of purchasing it, I should give him ——,[y] and for the guns on board one hundred crowns more; as shewn by the contract executed between us. I also made the same conditions with the man from Hamburgh. But some of my enemies arrived at the place while I was on shore at the house of the receiver, and separated my vessels, as I shall proceed to explain.

The disaffected party had collected together four vessels, well armed and equipped with military, the chiefs of which were the before-mentioned Grange and Lord Tillebairn, who at daybreak entered a harbour of the said islands, called Bressesund, where four of my vessels were lying. And when the masters of my vessels perceived them, the whole of my military force being on shore, they cut their cables and those of their boats, and retired to another harbour called Ounst, at the north of the same island.

However, their principal vessel observed diligently that vessel of mine which was the worst

[y] The abbreviation used here is supposed to mean 1600 crowns.

sailer, and chased it. My vessel was ahead, and theirs followed; and it happened that both of them struck upon a sunken rock, so that their vessel, which was their best and served as admiral, remained there, whilst mine, although somewhat damaged, got off.

When I learned that the enemy proposed coming ashore to pursue my party, I hastily embarked with them at the said port of Ounst, where I did not intend to remain, but merely to make head against my enemies. But their three vessels overtook and pressed me so vigorously, that, being unable to resist, I was compelled to make sail, and direct one of my vessels (containing the remainder of my plate, accoutrements, and furniture, which I had carried away from the Castle of Edinburgh) to proceed to another harbour, called Schalowe, and there agree with the before-mentioned Hamburghese, and with him to follow me, who was proceeding to Denmark, as before resolved: I also directed that they should bring away the remainder of my companions, whom I had left on the island.

My adversaries pursued and annoyed me in such a manner, that I was compelled to maintain an action with them for the space of three hours: at length one of their balls carried away the mainmast of my best vessel. Immediately there arose such a violent tempest, with a south-west wind, that it

became impossible for me to keep my course. I was accordingly driven upon the coast of Norway, where I was compelled to refit and provision my vessels, which, owing to the abruptness of my departure, had not been duly provided. The day after that on which I sailed from the Shetland Isles, I arrived on the coast of Norway, at a place called Carmesund, where I was taken into port by a vessel from Rostock, which had followed us during the night for the purpose of conducting us into the said harbour: my pilots being unacquainted with it. He also lent us his boat to carry one of our cables ashore.

In the mean time came Christen Olborg, captain of one of the ships of the King of Denmark, called L'Ours; who inquired whence we came and whither we were going. To which the master of my vessel replied, that we were Scotch gentlemen, desiring to proceed to Denmark, to serve his majesty. I also directed that the honours customary within the seas and jurisdiction of foreign princes should be performed.

The said Captain Olborg desired to see our passports and other documents, to satisfy himself as to the nature of our mission or business. But, circumstanced as I was, and still am at this day, that is to say destitute of all things necessary to me according to my rank, in consequence of being

separated from one of my vessels, which, however, I was hourly expecting, I was unwilling to make myself known until that vessel should have joined me, or to go on shore until I should reach Denmark. I therefore sent one of the gentlemen by whom I was accompanied, to inform him, that, in consequence of the active pursuit which had been commenced against me in Scotland, I had been prevented from obtaining the certificate and other papers which he required, and that she from whom I might obtain them was in close confinement. He then inquired whether there was any one of our party who spoke different languages, and if so, requested that he might be allowed to go and pass a short time with him: to which I acceded.

He afterwards asked the master of my vessel and several others of our party to go on board his ship, that he might provision our vessels and accommodate us with different things that we stood in need of; giving us to understand that a vessel had arrived in the said harbour, having wherewithal to supply us. But having got them on board, he detained them that night by fair words, and afterwards summoned the peasantry of the neighbouring country to come to the assistance of the vessels of the King of Denmark, there being some pirates and freebooters (as he conceived) that he was desirous of securing, agreeably to the instructions he

had received from the king his master. He however betrayed no sign of his intentions to those of my companions he had on board, but gave them to understand that he was only going to take them to Bergen, to collect the different articles they required. Compared with ours, his vessel had but very few hands on board.

Moreover, he requested me to allow my people, to the number of eighty, to go on board his vessel, not because he entertained any bad opinion or suspicion of us, but merely for the accommodation of provisions, which could not be obtained at that place for money. And he promised upon his honour that we should all be at liberty to return to our vessels and depart whenever we might think proper (to which effect he gave us letters sealed with his own seal.) Moreover, he offered to give us a letter of safe-conduct, that we might go where we pleased, without impediment; but he fulfilled no part of his promise.

When we had entirely complied with his demands, he separated my people, who were in number nearly a hundred and forty, and entirely violated his own voluntary engagements; of the causes of which proceeding we were wholly ignorant, never having offended his Majesty, or occasioned the slightest detriment to any of his subjects, or contravened the rights of his seas, or taken the

value of a penny without paying for it. I then declared who I was, and where I wished to go; but he still persisted in keeping us prisoners, contrary to my confident hopes; for if I had had any suspicion of his intentions, I might have proceeded towards him and his crew in any manner I might have thought fit, being twice as strong as he.

Having arrived at Bergen, I begged Erich Rosenkrantz to assist me in hiring suitable vessels for rowing me along the coast (I suffering much from sea-sickness), that I might as soon as possible reach Denmark; and farther, that he would favour me with a passport. In the mean time, I resided, for the space of an entire month, sometimes at the castle and sometimes on board with my companions: also during about three weeks I frequently took walks wherever I pleased about the town, so that, if I had been conscious of having committed any misdeed, it would have been easy for me to escape to any other place I might have chosen. I feel much indebted to that worthy gentleman, Mr. Rosenkrantz, for the confidence he reposed in me.

After having long waited for my passport, without which I was unwilling to go, I was informed by certain councillors of the town, that Erich Rosenkrantz and themselves had determined that I should follow the King's vessels to Denmark, but unac-

companied by my companions, excepting four or five of them: they accordingly dismissed the remainder of my party, with leave to return to Scotland, or proceed wherever else they might see fit.

The master of the vessel which I had ordered to the Shetland Isles to bring away those of my companions whom I had left there, as already explained (and on board of which were my property, plate, accoutrements, and jewels), on being informed, while proceeding along the coast of Norway, that I was detained, and that my people had been dismissed, immediately returned.

So that I have not only been arrested and detained, as well here as elsewhere, nearly four months and a half, contrary to all my expectations, having imagined I was coming among friends, although unprovided with a passport; not only have I been unjustly blamed and accused by my enemies; but am now left destitute of every thing necessary and suitable to my rank. All which I however regard much less than the contumely and indignities to which I am subjected in my present confinement, and the circumstance of being without any cause detained and prevented from proceeding on the business I have in other kingdoms with certain princes and noblemen for the liberation of the Queen my princess; and as it appears to me, to our great disgrace, detriment, and ruin, by those

from whom I should have expected another kind of aid and assistance.

Second Statement of James Earl of Bodwel to the King of Denmark.

Not being permitted to communicate directly, either with his Majesty or the members of his council, for the purpose of acquainting them with the motive of my coming to this kingdom, I find myself compelled to state in writing what I should have hoped to be allowed to declare orally to his Majesty; and I have to request that the worthy Mr. Peter Oxe, grand master of the said kingdom, will be pleased to lay this my statement before his said Majesty.

First, there have occurred great troubles and dissensions in Scotland, as well among the magistrates, as among the common people of that kingdom, by reason of certain of the said magistrates having endeavoured, under the cloak of religion, to forward their own private interests; and by illegal means and false pretences to reduce the kingdom to a state of subjection to their own power and authority: the consequence of which is that the said kingdom is divided into two parties. The Queen and myself having duly considered this state of things, and perceiving that it would be impracticable to restore order by violent means, without

producing infinite calamities and great effusion of blood, have endeavoured to meet the difficulties of the case, and obviate the said calamities by gentle methods; and with this view the Queen demanded an assurance of safe-conduct on the part of our adversaries for the purpose of conferring with them and agreeing upon such arrangements, admissible by both parties, as might lead to the perfect union and concord of her subjects, and the general benefit of the kingdom.

Accordingly, our said adversaries, with their accomplices; promised to the Queen, Lady Mary, and gave her in writing, their assurance of inviolable safe-conduct; which assurance they, however, afterwards violated and broke, when the said Queen went to communicate with them; they detaining her as a prisoner, and afterwards carrying her to the Castle of Lochleven, where she is at this day (as has been more fully detailed in the written statement made by me for my defence), and which I beg may be presented to his Majesty, in order that he may be made acquainted with the final decision of the said Queen and her council: which was,

First, that I should solicit of his Majesty of Denmark, as the ally and confederate of the said Queen, aid, favour, and assistance, as well in troops as in vessels; for the purpose of delivering her from the captivity in which she is at present placed.

Also, that in return for the expenses attendant

on such assistance, I should offer to his said Majesty to surrender the islands of Orkney and Shetland, free, quit, and without hindrance to the crown of Denmark and Norway; as they have been already, some time heretofore.

Moreover, in order that his Majesty and the members of his council may be the better assured of the truth of the above (as mentioned in the statement made by me for my defence, and briefly comprehended also in this), I entreat his Majesty to be pleased to cause the letters of cession of the said islands of Orkney and Shetland to be prepared, with such rigid conditions as to his said Majesty and the councillors of the kingdom of Denmark may appear most binding and secure. And I in good faith promise that the said letters shall be sealed by the Queen, myself, and the council of the kingdom of Scotland, and signed by each of us with his own hand.

Whereupon I beseech his said Majesty to vouchsafe to me an answer, that I may be enabled to acquit myself of the promise made by me to the Queen of Scotland, and the council of her kingdom, at their own earnest request; and also that they may know what they may venture to hope for, in this their extreme trouble and necessity.

At Malmoe, the 13th of January, 1568.[z]

[z] In Chalmers's elaborate "Life of Mary Queen of Scots," there is a note (Vol. ii. 243), showing that copies of this declaration were

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Sheffield, the 12th of January, 1577.

Monsieur de Glascow, according to the promise I made you in the last letters from my hand, I have spoken three times to our adopted daughter, who, after several remonstrances and objections, founded on the respect and observance due to the honour of her house, according to the customs of my country, but especially as regards her alleged vow, which she said she could not, in her opinion, conscientiously and honourably break; has at

sent by the King of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth and other sovereigns. He says that "in Sinclair's MS. History of Scotland, which was written at the time, and remained in the Scots College, at Paris, till recent times, there was the following passage:—'Bothwell, at his death, and several times before, declared on his oath that he himself committed the murder by the counsells of Murray and Morton, and that the queen was altogether innocent and knew nothing of the murder.' To this Sinclair added, 'that the King of Denmark sent authentic copies of Bothwell's declaration to the Queen of England and other princes.' In a letter from Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, dated the 6th of January, 1577, which was likewise in the Scots College, she says, 'that the King of Denmark had sent to Queen Elizabeth the testament [declaration] of the late Earl of Bothwell, but that she had secretly suppressed it. Before the bishop of Sconen and four of the Danish lords, the Earl Bothwell solemnly declared what he knew of the late king's death, after apologizing for his weakness, which prevented him from speaking much; that the queen was innocent of the king's death; and that he himself, his friends, and certain of the nobility were the only authors of it. From Sir John Forster's letter to Secretary Walsingham, we learn that Bothwell's *Testament* was given in evidence against Morton on his trial for the king's murder."

length, on my remonstrances and urgent persuasions, by her considered, according to her duty, as the orders of a good mistress, one who stands her in stead of a mother, made up her mind to submit to my commands, in the assurance that I shall respect her confidence and reputation. Being desirous of gratifying you, I have taken the charge upon myself, and in the first place, to get her released from her said alleged vow, which I consider as null and void; and if, in the opinion of the divines, it proves to be so, I shall take charge of the rest, or have another in her place; for, having resigned herself to me, instead of appealing to your opinion, I must take hers. Now, as to the first point, our man, whom I had to see her, has undertaken very readily, considering the difficulties attending it, to take the journey himself, to obtain and bring back the absolution from the vow, and at the same time the decision that you will be able to come in three months. I shall solicit a passport for him here; do for him all you can over there, for there will be urgent occasion for it, seeing that time flies with me. For the rest, it will be necessary to write again, by the first opportunity, to her brother, to inquire what he thinks I can do to give the requisite colouring to the observance of the customs of the country, where there may be some difference in respect to qualities or

titles. Your brother will inform you of all I have done in this affair; about which he has expressed himself perfectly satisfied; he endeavours, if possible, more than ever, to do all in his power to serve me diligently and agreeably, which I take in very good part. In the hope of some opportunity which may enable me to prove my good will towards you both, I conclude, referring, about my affairs, to what I have heretofore written to you, in order to rest myself, and pray God to have you, M. de Glascow, in his holy keeping.

Your good mistress and best friend,

M. R.

I have communicated the above to the girl, who accuses me of too great partiality, seeing that I had omitted (for brevity's sake) giving all the particulars of her submission made to me according to her duty; but in the hope of finding some favour for the observance of her vow, which is null, she wishes that her inclination for a long time, particularly in our prison, should be considered, which has always been more in favour of continuing in her present state, than entering into that of matrimony. I promised to represent all this to you, and to pay regard to it, as the confidence which she places in me deserves; and I shall continue to act in all things as my conscience dictates to be for the best; taking care, however, not to expose my-

self to the danger of being blamed afterwards for anything she may do by my advice and admonition, in case I find greater reason to induce me to persuade her to enter into that state which is least agreeable to her. Great stress is laid on difference of titles and qualities, and she alleges, for example, the fault which is found with the marriage of the two sisters Lewingston, merely because they married the younger brothers of their equals; and she fears that the relations, living in a country where such formalities are kept up, may not have so good an opinion of her as she says they had before. But, as the queen of both, I have offered to take upon myself to set this matter to rights, by all the means in my power, in the state in which I am; so that you will have no need to make any demonstration or remonstrance, unless to desire her brother to write frankly what he thinks about it.

1577. Mary Stuart goes to the baths at Buxton, and so does Burleigh, during the sojourn of Elizabeth at Kenilworth.

1578. *January* —. James VI., now in his thirteenth year, is placed at the head of the government, and Morton is obliged to resign his functions as regent.

March 12. Morton forces his way into Stirling Castle, seizes the young prince, and the royal authority.

The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise.

From Sheffield, the last day of May [1578].

My cousin, in a matter in which you take so warm an interest as you have shown me that you do in behalf of the request of the Sieur de Saint Luc, you had good reason to make sure that you would not be refused, especially as I understand that he has the means and inclination to serve you, which cannot be without his having the like devotion, when occasion shall occur, towards every thing connected with it. I have commanded my secretary to do all that is necessary on this occasion; and should I at any time require your interest for any of my friends, I shall, from the conviction of your good-will towards me, claim your favour for them, as you have now done mine, in which I shall never be wanting, seeing the many obligations which I acknowledge I owe you.

I have neither seen Gondi, nor received any better treatment; and, from not being permitted to take exercise, I have been obliged to use purgatives for the whole of this month of May; which is all that I can tell you at present, being still rather weak, and annoyed at having no convenience, excepting for the service of my person.

I beg you will do all you can for Lord Farnehest and other friends and servants of mine, whenever

they may have need of your favour; and apologise for me to my cousin your wife, for my not having written to her this time, nor to any of our relatives; but I will acquit myself of this on the first opportunity. After affectionately recommending myself to your good graces, as also to those of my cousin your wife, I pray God to grant you, my good cousin, good health and a long life.

Your very affectionate cousin and best friend,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to Monsieur d'Humières.

Monsieur d'Humières, Chevalier of the Order of His Most Christian King Monsieur my good Brother, and Gentleman of his Bedchamber.

Mons^{r} de Humières, I am so mindful of the old servants of the late king my lord and husband, that, for the honour and respect which I bear, and shall bear as long as I live, for his memory, I shall always esteem myself happy in being able to gratify them in any thing that lies in my power. Besides this, the particular obligation which I owe to you and yours, for the many demonstrations of their good-will towards me, renders still more agreeable the request you lately made of some seignorial rights, the grant of which I have commanded my

secretary to despatch to you; at the same time assuring you, that if ever a better occasion presents itself, you will always find me ready to serve you and yours as heartily as I now pray God to have you, Mons^r de Humières, in his holy and worthy keeping.

Written at the manor of Sheffield, this xxth day of June, 1578.

Your very sincere and old friend,

MARY R.

1578. *June* —. Mary Stuart goes to Chatsworth.

The Queen of Scots to Monsieur Rambouillet.

To Monsieur Rambouillet, Knight of the Order of His Most Christian Majesty, my good Brother, and Captain of his Guards.

Monsieur de Rambouillet, besides the important and continual obligations which I owe to his Most Christian Majesty monsieur my good brother, for the regard which he is pleased to pay to my condition and treatment in this captivity, I feel particularly grateful for the express charge which you inform me he has given you to intercede in his name in my behalf with the Queen of England, my good sister and cousin. For, besides your good qualities and merit, which are worthy of every re-

spect, I hope you will not show less good-will in my cause than I formerly experienced from your two brothers on a similar occasion. I, therefore, beg you affectionately, that, before your departure from this kingdom, I may, through your kind means, feel the good effects of the intercession and favourable recommendation of the king my said lord and brother; having as much need of it as ever, from the cruel treatment which I have for some time so unworthily received, in consequence of the false impressions made by my enemies on the queen my said good sister, with whom (in my opinion) nothing tends more to injure me than my near relationship. Leaving the Sieur de Mauvissière to communicate to you the particulars wherein it will be needful to employ you, as he has for a long time been well acquainted with them, I will not make this longer than to thank you for the good offices which you have already done me, assuring you of my desire and readiness to return them to you and yours whenever occasion may present itself. I pray God to have you, Monsieur de Rambouillet, in His holy and worthy keeping.

Written at Chattesworth, this last day of August, 1578.

Your very good friend,

MARY.

1578. *October* —. Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, becomes the favourite of James VI., who creates him Duke of Lennox.

The Queen of Scots to the Cardinal of Guise.[a]

From Sheffield, the 2nd of January [1579].

My good uncle, I kiss your hands on the news of the peace. But as I do not see what will come of it, I shall be afraid that they have only left off to take breath. This is only supposition on my part, for in reality I know nothing, as I have not received any news from any one in France for a long time, excepting requests, not even about my own affairs, till now by Arnault, and he has not been able to obtain permission to see me. It will be very annoying if I am not permitted to let you know at least once a year by some one of my servants how I am, and inquire in the same way about you and about my affairs. The time draws very near when my attendants will expect to be paid, and I to have money; for it is not a trifle I require to

[a] The Cardinal of Guise, Louis de Lorraine, Bishop of Metz, having died in 1578, the above letter, with the two following, must necessarily have been written in the year 1578, and not in 1579, which is the date given in the manuscript. The last of them was evidently written before Mary was aware of her uncle's decease, which occurred a little more than a month previously. The peace alluded to at the commencement of this letter must be the Treaty of Bergerac, concluded on the 7th September, 1577, between Henry III. and the Protestants. It cannot be the second Cardinal of Guise, who was killed at Blois in 1588, to whom Mary addressed these letters, as he was only cousin-german to the queen.

keep me here, though they do talk so much about what I cost them. But as my wants are not immediate, I will wait patiently until I can be honestly and faithfully served, and give answer concerning my affairs in your country.

I beg you will give me your assistance in this matter, as you will see necessary by the directions which I give on the subject to my ambassador, to be guided by your advice, and likewise respecting my affairs, especially my dowry, so that I may not be a loser by any partialities or delays. Trusting that, as you promised, you will be a good uncle to me, I will say no more about this at present, but only make one request, which you must not refuse if you love me; this is, the gift of the first vacant priory in your abbey of Bourgueil for one of the nephews of Raleigh. His services you are acquainted with, and how the late M. the Cardinal wished him to be about me, and how fond the late king my lord was of him; and then this last journey in his old age compels me to have recourse to you, because I have no other means of gratifying him. I shall not only feel myself under great obligation to you, but, whenever occasion occurs for serving some one of your friends, by any means in my power, you have only to claim the return, and I shall most willingly make it. Not to trouble

you too much, I will conclude by affectionately recommending myself to your favour.

I want to beg something else of you: it is, now I can no longer see you, that you would send me your portrait, and that of M. the Cardinal, and if you can obtain my late grandfather's, it would afford me great pleasure to see, at least in my cabinet, the likenesses of relations from whom I am so far distant.

Your very obedient and affectionate
good niece,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Same.

At Sheffield, the last day of January, 1579.

My good uncle, I find, by your last letters, that all our relations are in good health, for which I praise God; and, as for the ill treatment which I receive, you and they may be assured that it is without having deserved it from my good sister the Queen of England, whom I have never offended in word, deed, or thought, except that I think it wrong to be so hardly used; for which I blame some of her ministers, who, as I have had proofs, are continually seeking my ruin, either by instilling into the mind of the queen unjust suspicions of me, or by underhand dealings, which you, who are at liberty, have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted

with than I, who am a prisoner. Yet these ministers have neither the qualities nor the fidelity towards her which she deserves by the confidence which she places in them out of her good nature, but are full of craft and dissimulation. This is said to be a monster but too common near persons of our rank, when, misled by far-fetched appearances, we are not on our guard against it. But, as I am sure of the rectitude of my conduct, I trust that the evil they strive to do me will turn to their own ruin; and, therefore, it is my intention to entreat the said lady, my good sister, to let me know what is laid to my charge, so that I may justify myself: for, as to letters, all that I have written have passed through the hands of Walsingham, and I have written no others, and there is nothing in them which I am not ready to avow as being in in no respect offensive either to the queen or to her state. The king monsieur my good brother, the queen madame my mother-in-law, you and my cousin of Guise, can bear witness to this, as I write to nobody else, excepting now and then, which letters you see too, and which contain only kind recommendations to my ambassador, to my friends and relatives, and to the prayers of madame my grandmother, who does not make much disturbance in the world. There can be no other ground to find the least fault with me, seeing the care that is taken to confine

me closely. This is all I can do, and offer to answer any thing that may be requisite for the satisfaction of my said good sister. On this point, therefore, be under no apprehension that I have done any thing that can be prejudicial to me; but, as for any uneasiness you may feel at not hearing from me, if I am but permitted, I will soon relieve you from that; but, if I am not permitted, I leave it to your discretion and good will to solicit in my behalf, when you are in doubt, or await a future opportunity, if it is to my prejudice: and meanwhile I beg leave to commend to you all my affairs in France.

I have granted the request which you recommended to my notice, and shall be very glad, according to my means, of obliging all those whom you may recommend to me, and you, I trust, will do the same for those who may be recommended by me to you. If some person be not permitted to come over here to render an account of my affairs and to bring me money, I and my servants shall be badly off this Lent, for we have none left, and all that we want here is not to be had for nothing. For my own part, if I could but have attendance, I would not care much; but very often I suffer in every way. This is the worst letter I have ever written; if it reach you, it will give you a hint in a similar case in future. When you return, kiss for me the hands of the king monsieur my brother-

in-law, and mesdames the queens my mother-in-law and my sister, and monsieur my brother-in-law, and commend me to their good offices; beg them to command their ambassador, M. de Mauvissière, to defend me to the Queen of England, my good sister; and if they would be pleased to add a favourable recommendation to some of the principal persons, such as the Earl of Leicester, and others of the like quality, who, in order that my enemies may be compelled to inform me what they accuse me of, so that they may be answered, might without .....I think it would be of great service to me, and I shall feel the more obliged to them. And in this place, after commending myself most affectionately to your good grace, I pray God to grant you, my good uncle, health and a long and happy life.

Your most affectionate and obedient niece,

MARY.

1579. Gregory XII. founds a College at Rome for the English and Scotch Catholic refugees. Allen establishes similar Colleges at Douay, Rheims, and St. Omer.

Mary Stuart sends Nau, her secretary, with letters and presents for James VI., but they are refused, because he is not addressed as King of Scotland.

The Queen of Scots to the Same.

From Sheffield, the 8th of May, 1579.

My uncle, since the arrival of my secretary, I have been so indisposed, that, having taken up my

pen once or twice to write to the king monsieur my good brother, the queen madam my good mother, and the queen madam my good sister, I was forced to lay it down again, hoping that, before the return of my tailor, whom I shall send off in ten or twelve days, I shall be better able to write, and to return my most humble thanks for the honour they have done me in writing in so kind a manner, and so much to my consolation at a time when I was so dejected by the great losses which we have recently sustained; and for this reason I wish very much that I were able to write you a longer letter than I can at present, to beg you to attend to my affairs; about which at this time I shall not trouble you further, because I have not leisure or convenience, any more than to answer you and all our relatives who have been pleased to write to me. Of one thing I will assure you, which is, that the advice you have given me, to endeavour by all means to conciliate the Queen of England, madam my good sister, is so much in unison with my inclination, that, had you, who have always the power of commanding me, not advised it, I should have followed that course of myself, as I hope to let you know more at length by M. de la Mothe on his return, who is better able than any other person to give you an account of all my actions. And awaiting his convenience, I shall make you a

very affectionate request, on the same conditions that I did to the late Cardinal my uncle, and which is that you must grant it, or I will never ask another from you. It is for the priory of Carennac, which M. de la Mothe informs me is only in the hands of a person whom you can dispose of: he wishes to have it for his brother, instead of that which I requested for him of monsieur the late cardinal. This priory, I am told, is in litigation, and consequently of no great importance, so that you cannot refuse it to your niece; for it is to me that you will give it, my good uncle. Do not let me have the same difficulty about it as I had with the other, and let me have your answer by the first opportunity; for I am under such obligations to the said Sieur de la Mothe, that I should be extremely grieved to see him kept in suspense by those so related to me, particularly in regard to a matter of such little consequence. I promise myself so much from your friendship, that I shall have a speedy reply to the above, and therefore shall conclude, begging you to present my most humble respects to the king monsieur my good brother, and to the queens my good mother and sister; and my apologies for not having written either to them or to our other relations, particularly to my cousin of Guise and his wife, and the Duke of Maine: I shall deem it my duty to do so on the

first opportunity. After kissing your hands, my good uncle, I shall pray God to keep you in good health, and to grant you a long and happy life.

Your very obedient, affectionate niece,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the most Christian King.

Sheffield, the last day of May, 1579.

Monsieur my brother-in-law, foreseeing that, for the accomplishment of what has passed between my son and me, it will be necessary for my ambassador, the Archbishop of Glascow, to go to Scotland to my son, I beseech you, by these presents, when occasion shall require, and whenever he may demand your permission, to be pleased to grant it for a period: in the which my son and myself will be the more obliged to you, inasmuch as the beginning was designed by you, and the affair has thus far been authorised and favoured by you. In return for which, he and I shall remain kindly affected toward you, and ready to serve you in whatever you may please to command us.

After humbly commending myself to your good grace, I pray God to give you, monsieur my good brother-in-law, health and a long and happy life.

Your very affectionate and humble sister and cousin,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

From Schastuinn, June 24, 1579.

Mons^r de Glascow, owing to the absence of Nau, who set out a fortnight ago for Scotland, on a visit to my son,[b] and to my having been rather indisposed—many thanks to Du Val, whom I expected here to physic (*purger*) me for this whole summer—I could not give an earlier answer to your last letters. I shall therefore begin by requesting you to put the irons in the fire again, and try to find me another physician who is not a deceiver, and make Lusgeri do the same; and, meanwhile, give me your opinion of any who may offer themselves. I have ordered Duvergier, my chancellor, if he knows of any person, to send him to you; so that you may speak to him, and be able to give me your opinion. I fear he will find work cut out for him, as I begin to be unwell, and am suffering from what I have not had for a long time—a very bad, dry cough. I am glad that you have gone to the baths for the benefit of your health, but am sorry that you could not be present, according to my desire, at the rendering of the accounts of Dolu, my treasurer. I hope soon to be able to inform you, whom I intend to appoint

[b] "About this time, Mary sent by Naue, her secretary, a letter to her son, together with some jewels of value, and a vest, embroidered with her own hand. But, as she gave him only the title of Prince of Scotland, the messenger was dismissed without being admitted into his presence."—ROBERTSON'S *Hist. of Scotl.* b. vi.

in his place. As to the affair of Madame de Humières, you will do well to make inquiry about it, for I think it a sad thing that the fief should be so much diminished, since she herself wrote to me, at her leisure, respecting it. Touching the request of your secretary, I cannot, for several reasons, comply with it at present. I beg you, on your return, to give me a full account of the state of my affairs, and to look well after them; and, in return, I hope to be able, on the arrival of Nau, to inform you of that of your old mistress and your young master. So the latter be but satisfactory, the former cannot be otherwise. And, in this place, after heartily commending myself to you, I pray God to give you, M. de Glascow, a long and happy life.

Your very good mistress and best friend.

MARY R.

1579. July —. The Queen goes to Buxton again.

The Queen of Scots to the Most Christian King.

From Buxton, the 27th of July [1579].

Monsieur my good brother, I have despatched this gentleman for a purpose which my ambassador will tell you. I therefore beg you will give him an audience, and a brief answer, such as you may judge that the case requires; and I will not trouble you, at present, with a longer letter; but merely present my humble commendations to your good grace,

praying God to give you, monsieur my good brother, health and a long and happy life.

Your very kind sister,

MARY.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Buxton, August 10, 1579.

Monsieur de Glascow, as the indisposition of Nau prevents me from giving you a detailed answer to your preceding letters, I write in the mean time to inform you of my arrival at the baths, and of the benefit I have derived from them in relieving the inveterate pain in my side. As ill luck would have it, at Sheffield, those who were assisting me to mount my horse, let me fall backwards on the steps of the door, from which I received so violent a blow on the spine of the back, that, for some days past, I have not been able to hold myself upright. I hope, however, with the good remedies which I have employed, to be quite well before I leave this place. We have not been wholly free from the epidemic disorder; but it has been much more violent among the people of the country than those of my household, not one of which is now, thank God, affected by it.

Do not fail to send me all the things which I directed you, notwithstanding the danger that you tell me you apprehend on your side of the water, and which is not less here; and write to me on all

occasions, according to the opportunity you have. Whereupon, I pray God to have you, M. de Glascow, in his holy keeping.

Your very good mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

1579. *September* —. The Duke of Anjou makes a short visit to England; Elizabeth is much pleased with him.

The Queen of Scots to the same.

From Sheffield, 12th October [157

Monsieur de Glascow, we certify to you our having received from M. de Schrewsbury the sum of five hundred crowns, by you delivered to his man, to whom you will return his promise for so much, which we have sent you, with an order for its reimbursement and discharge. The said Sieur de Schrewsbury has since furnished us, upon our receipt, with the sum of a thousand crowns, which sum you must not fail to return forthwith to his said man, the bearer of this, taking his receipt for the same. It is our intention that the said sum of a thousand crowns shall be entered in the account of our treasurer. Given at the manor of Sheffield.

Your good mistress and best friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, having purchased two

beautiful and rare nags[c] for my cousin, Monsieur de Guise, it was my intention to have immediately sent them both in charge of the bearer, who is obliged to return to France with his wife, for the cure of a disorder with which she has been afflicted ever since last winter. But one of the said horses having been ailing (*forbeu*) for the last seven or eight days, I thought it advisable not to miss this opportunity, nor the season, for sending the other, which I have given in charge to the groom, who has for some time past had it under his particular care, and I have given him strict orders to take it to your house; and you will oblige me to let it be led by one of your grooms to my ambassador, in order that he may present it, in my name, to my said cousin, and to pay any expences incurred. I think you will have no difficulty about his journey, with the passport which it will be necessary to obtain for the purpose, any more than for that of any of my said officers; I shall, therefore, not give you any more particular directions on the subject, praying God, Monsieur de Mauvissière, to have you in his holy and worthy care. Written at the manor of Sheffield, the iii day of September, 1580.

Your very obliged and best friend,

MARY R.

[c] The French word used by the queen is *guildedins*, which is derived from our *gelding*.

1579. *December* 31. Morton is apprehended on the information of Stuart, son of Lord Ochiltree, who accuses him of the murder of Darnley.

Instructions of the Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross.

Instructions given to our reverend father in God Iohnn, Bishop of Ross, our trusty counsellor, and ambassador towards the Queen of England our good sister, to be used by him with the advice and concurrence of the reverend father in God, also, Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, and William Lord Livingston, who are sent in commission by our lieutenants and nobility, our good subjects to be joined with our said ambassador in the treaty to be made with the said good sister or her commissioners, as well for appeasing of all controversies, and contracting of further amity between us, our realme and subjects, as also for her pleasure tending to the assurance of our subjects in Scotland.

First, he shall consider diligently the articles and .....which was proposed to us by Sir William Cecil, Knt., the queen our good sister's principal secretary, and Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of her exchequer, her counsellors and commissioners, at Chatsworth, in the month of October last, together with our answer unto iii cases: if the same be now proposed to you again, ye shall answer to the same, in manner following.

As to the first of the said articles, you shall condescend to the same with the provision made in our answers thereto at Chatsworth.

Then as to the second article bearing the confirmation of the last treaty made at Edinburgh in the month of July 1560, you shall condescend to the confirmation thereof. Providing always that the same be not hurtful nor prejudicial to my title in succession to the crown of England, failure of the queen my good sister and her lawful issue, and to that effect, you shall require my said good sister in most friendly loving manner to make allowances by her provisions as may be sufficient in law for preservation of my said title in succession. And because the same depends upon the subtilities and quiddeties of the laws of this realme, therefore you shall require that you may have counsel of the best learnt of the laws for the better consideration of this point, by what advice he may the better resolve thereupon to the queen our good sisters contentment and for our good assurance.

Then as to the third article, you shall assure the queen our good sister of constant amitie and good friendship in times ending, so that no prince and country shall be able to persuade me to do any thing that may be offensive to her estate or country, trusting assuredly to receive the like at her hands. And therefore you shall desire her to con-

sider and weigh our case, and great loss which may follow to us, our country, subiects and people of Scotland, in case we would agree to these articles as it is demanded; for thereby we shall be in danger to lose our dowery in France, the privileges which our subjects has enjoyed many hundred years by the old league of the intwynment of my arms, archers of the guard, and xxiiii archers of the corps keepers of the king's body; with all other privileges that merchants, students, and others, who has heritages, benefices, and pensions of that realme, with many other commodities and honourable promotions; besides that we and our country shall be need of the assistance that our predecessors and we was wont to have for a defence in case England or any other nation under whatsoever colours should invade Scotland.....being foreseen, and provisions being made therefore that we may save sufficient recompense for our losses to the like privileges, commodities, and immunities, to be assured to us and our subjects. We will rather contract friendship with the queen our good sister nor any prince in Christendom. Otherwise you will be hard our subiects to agree unto. Always we will not refuse to contract with the queen our good sister and with her in her defence in case any prince or country shall invade her without just cause first given by England to that prince or country. And so being also

that in case England give the first occasion of war to them, it shall be lawful to us to join with our old friends and allies for their defence without break of the present treaty. Providing always that the like bond of friendship to us, reciprocity of the queen our good sisters part.

Then as to the fourth article. You shall agree unto, with provision that as well English as French-men of war shall be removed forth from Scotland if any be within a month after our returning within our said realme, so that only Scottish men of war shall remain within the same country: if it shall happen some rebellion shall be attempted against us, as be the forces of the country can not suppress it, and in that case it shall be.....to us to require and receive aid of strangers as well as of the queen our good sister, as well of other princes our allies and confederates, without preiudice or violating of this present treaty. Providing that our said good sister shall be warned thereof by us and made privy unto. And that this stranger shall not be suffered to remain within the realme after the peace-offering of the rebellion.

Then to the fifth article. That it be plainly declared what is meant by intelligences mentioned in the same. For we are content to forbeare all intelligences that may be prejudiciall either to the queen our good sister, her estate or country. And

you shall require the said article be reciprocitly made for the queen of Englands part.

Then for the sixth article. You shall condescend as my former answer, assuring always that there is no Englishman presently within the realme of Scotland and of those who sought refuge saving those that are in keeping of our rebelles, for all the rest an abandonment conforming to the promises made by the Bishop of Ross, our ambassador at the beginning of this treaty.

Then to the seventh article. You shall accord, as in my former answers.

As to the ninth article concerning the prince our son. You shall consider the advice of the nobility our good subjects send to us thereuppon. And inform our good sister upon the same, assuring her.....for our part that we shall leave nothing undone that consists in our power to her satisfaction in that point, trusting always that she will not press us and our good subjects further now for our consent, in respect that the delivering of the prince our son stands not in our hands, he being kept by our rebels, and being made one also of their pretended rebellion, to our great hurt and prejudice. And therefore the delivery of his person should not hinder our liberty, as being a thing impossible to us, unless the queen our good sister will make us to be freely restored within our own realme. In

the mean time receive other pledges of our nobility. And in that case, we shall cause that part of the treaty be fulfilled by the special assistance and concurrance of our said good sister. And besides, that those conditions proposed by us in our former answer at Chatsworth be agreed unto.

The tenth article seems not honourable to be put in any treaty, because it is contrary to all laws and good reason to put a bridle to marriage not .....we refer to our former answer given thereto.

The eleventh article would be well considered of conforming to the instructions sent by our nobility thereanent.

Touching the twelfth article, we refer in to our former answers.

The manner of the assurance.

The first article is agreed.

As to the second article, we refer in to our former answers given thereto.

The third article seems to be the most perilous of all, for that it bears so many captious and general terms, whereupon occasion may be taken to our great hurt and prejudice, or rather to the .....of our title, as well in succession of the crown of England as to the present title of our own realme—principally in these terms to ayde or any ways comfort any notorious traytor or rebel of England, and which would be interpreted as is

contained in the articles sent by our nobility. And therefore it is necessary that you require the queen our good sister to make it lawful to you to have the counsel and advice of the best learned in the laws of this realme upon this article, being so prejudicial as it is to our whole estate, which being so reasonable, we are assured you will not be refused, by whose advice and your own wisdom you shall agree to that thing most convenient for the queen our good sister's surety, and ours also.

To the fourth article it appears very necessary that the like order be kept, in making assurance to us by the queen our good sister, and the estate of the realme of England, for keeping of the points of this treaty, as she has required us and our estates to do conform to the advice sent to us by our nobility.

As to the fifth article, concerning the Castle of Hume, we refer as to our former answer.

Andd ..... of the sixth article, for we cannot agree that any strangers possess any strength within our realm.

Also for as.....as the assurance taken at the queen our good sister's desire, betwixt the Earl of Sussex, her lieutenant, and our lieutenants in Scotland, and the Earl of Lennox and his assisters, which has been truly and inviolable kept by all our good subjects, and nevertheless the same is violated and

broken by the adversary party, in such sort that there is great spoylies.....and oppressions exerted by them against our said good subjects, contrary to their promises, which besides our said good sister of her honour to cause redress..... You shall desire her most affectionately to cause the said wrongs and injuries be repaired. And that order be taken during this treaty, no parliament be holden in their pretended manner; nor none of our good subiects be molested or troubled in their bodies, lands, possessions, goods, or liveing geir; but that they be suffered peaceably to enjoy their livings and possessions without any further trouble. The particular declaration hereof we refer to the information to be geven by the Lords of Galloway and Livingstone; and as you shall get further knowledge thereof from tyme to tyme, fail not to make most earnest instance, according to all reason, equity, and good conscience.

And, finally, our pleasure is, that you consider diligently the articles and instructions sent by our nobility at this present, which we find very good in all respects. And because they have reserved to our judgment and pleasure to agree to whatsoever conditions may serve for the advancement of our liberty and restoration, we likewise do commit the same to your wisdom and discretion, to be used of the said Bishop of Galloway and Lord

Livingston, as well in this matter, which are to be treated betwixt the queen our good sister and us, as in any others which shall happen to be proposed for the assurance of our unnatural subjects, in case, for the pleasure of our said good sister, we shall be persuaded to show our clemency towards them. Whereof the particular advize we refer to the information which we have given you, conforming to the answer which we maid to our said good sister's commissioners at Chatsworth. Promising faithfully to ratify, approve, and affirm whatsoever you shall do in this behalf, and observe and keep the same inviolably in all points. In witness of which we have subscribed the same with our own hand, and affix our signet thereto. At Sheffield, the xxvith day of December, 1580.

MARIE R.

The Queen of Scots to M. de la Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I beg that you carefully forward the enclosed packet to Monsieur de Glasgo, and procure a passport for my tailor, which he is shortly to send with some trunks full of clothes for me. I am exceedingly displeased on account of the disappointment you have met with from the members of my council respecting your treasurership of Victry, directly contrary to my order and intention. My ambassador has in-

formed me that it had been conferred on a doctor of divinity, who was long in possession of it, and who had incurred various expenses, for which he ought to be re-imbursed. I have, nevertheless, again ordered most expressly, in the enclosed letters, that the said doctor shall resign to your almoner the said benefice, till the first vacancy; as I will not suffer my orders to be disobeyed, as they have heretofore been but too much, even in many things for myself, otherwise I shall be compelled to put my affairs into the hands of my chancellor, du Verger. I feel too much obliged to you to prefer any one to you when a better occasion shall occur, and still less to break my promise to you, which I never will do. I beg you to hasten, as much as possible, the remittance of my money, and of the wages of my officers, of which I assure you every one is in great need, and myself in particular. My illness increased much during the last five or six days; and though I have been, I may say, at extremity, I could not obtain what was requisite and necessary for my health. At present I am a little better, though very weak and reduced. I should feel obliged, if the Queen of England, my good sister, would pay a little attention to the things necessary for the complete recovery and preservation of my health, such as exercise on horseback round about here; when I

shall get well. Be so good as to represent this, and do not fail to write me an answer by the first opportunity; till when, I pray God, Monsieur de Mauvissière, to have you in his holy keeping.

"Written at the manor of Sheffeild, the* day of February, 1581.

1581. *April* 24. A French ambassador arrives to treat with England, relative to the marriage of the queen with the Duke of Anjou.

May —. Morton is condemned to death and executed, in spite of the entreaties and threats of Elizabeth.

June 11. The English and French commissioners sign the contract of marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou.

July —. Parsons, the Jesuit, sends Waytes to the court at Holyrood to implore the protection of Lennox for Mary Stuart and the Catholics; he receives the most flattering promises.

The United Provinces renounce their allegiance to the King of Spain, and acknowledge the Duke of Anjou as their sovereign. This prince assents, and enters Flanders with sixteen thousand men.

September 10. The Council of England deliberates, by order of the queen, upon bringing Mary Stuart to trial; and breaks up at the end of three days, without concurring in the views of Elizabeth.

November —. The Duke of Anjou visits London a second time, and is received by Elizabeth with the warmest interest.

November 19. She signs a promise of marriage, but the ceremony is postponed for some months.

November —. Beale, Elizabeth's secretary, and brother-in-law to Walsingham, goes to Sheffield upon pretext of treating with Mary Stuart concerning her liberation, but, in reality, to discover what were her hopes in regard to Scotland.

1582. *February* 8. The Duke of Anjou sets out for Flanders; Elizabeth accompanies him as far a Canterbury.

March —. Parsons sends Creighton, the Jesuit, to Scotland, to ascertain the intentions of the Duke of Lennox.

The Queen of Scots to her Cousins.

This 18th of March [1582.]

My cousins, the great interest I feel assured you take in all that concerns the welfare, grandeur, and preservation of my son, together with the duty of good and faithful subjects towards me, as things joined and united together, has particularly induced me to despatch this gentleman to communicate some matters to you, and, if you think proper, to my son, and which greatly concern the prosperity and advancement of our affairs, affectionately begging you to pay assiduous and careful attention to what he will communicate to you on my behalf, or on that of M. de Guise, my cousin, to whom you may, in all things, give the same credit as to myself. And, trusting that God will give me grace to acknowledge your duty and fidelity, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good cousin and friend,

MARY R.

1582. *May* —. Parsons and Creighton return to Paris, and propose, with the Duke of Guise, Castelli, the Pope's nuncio, and Taxis, the Spanish ambassador, that Mary and James shall possess conjointly the throne of Scotland.

June —. They obtain the consent of Mary Stuart and the Scotch Cabinet. The King of Spain and the Pope promise succours in money.

August 23. The Earl of Gowry the head of the English faction in Scotland, seizes the person of King James in the castle of Ruthven; the Duke of Lennox flies to France.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, in addition to the information which the bearer, the Sr. du Ruisseau, will give you on my situation and the state of my health, I shall say that I never had such need of the favour and indulgence of the queen of England, madam my good sister, in respect to my liberty and ordinary treatment, having, eight days ago, fallen very ill, that if she does not please her to ameliorate my situation in this captivity, according to the remonstrances I charged the said du Ruisseau to make her in my name, I see but little hopes of surviving the next winter. The said du Ruisseau will inform you of every thing, that you may have the goodness to make the like representations to the said queen and the principal persons of her council, so that I may obtain some reply. I think that monsieur the duke, my brother-in-law, cannot be aware of the proceedings which his officers have commenced against me for the payment of a part of the woods of Espernay, notwithstanding the payment which, according to his gift and power of attorney, has already been made to the Sr. de Bosne, who is very far from the good will which you have told me the duke has of holding me entirely quit for the said part. I beg you will write to him and to the Sr. de Quinxy, his secretary, by the first opportunity

you have, to procure for me letters to the said officers, ordering them to stay the said proceedings, and to transfer the right which he might claim in future to the said woods, so that I may be maintained and continued in the possession thereof, agreeably to the memorandum I have already sent you. De Chaulnes has promised me, in his last, that he will pay what I owe you out of the moneys he shall receive, which I will shortly pay him again. As to my house at Fontainebleau, respecting which Ruisseau spoke to me in your behalf, believe me, had it been at my disposal, I would most willingly have made you a present of it; but it is nearly three months since I promised it, through my ambassador, who wrote to me about it, to my cousin M. de Guise, who, I think, before this will have settled himself there, although it is very small. Let the sum of forty crowns be given to the daughter of the Laird of Granges, who is over there, to enable her to return into Scotland, as her mother has refused my proposal of sending her to France, and getting her an appointment: and I see no likelihood of having her about me; and let them not wait longer over there for an answer, if they have no other occasion for staying. I thank you for the favours and courtesies which the said du Ruisseau informs me that you have shown him on my account, and for which he feels greatly obliged. Be

assured that, whenever an opportunity presents itself of making a return, I shall heartily avail myself of it. In the mean time, I pray God to have you, Mons^r. de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at the manor of Sheffeild, in England, the second of September, 1582.

Your very best friend,

MARY.

1582. *October* 5. The change in the calendar from the old to the new style is introduced into France, but not adopted in England and Scotland until 1752.

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, since my despatch herein enclosed, kept ready ever since the beginning of last month, the Sieur du Ruisseau has been apprehended in this country by the Earl of Shereusbury, at the same time that he laid a fresh restriction on my liberty, and he has since refused me permission to write to the Queen of England, madam my good sister, or to you. I am astonished beyond measure at this proceeding, knowing in my conscience how little occasion I have given for it, having taken particular pains, during the whole of the past time, to accommodate myself as much as possible to all that I thought agreeable to the said queen. And besides, I can answer for it that neither the said du Ruisseau, nor any other of his

company, would ever furnish cause for their confinement, and indeed the Earl of Shereusbury has not been able to allege any. I have made my complaints on this subject to the said queen in my letter herein enclosed, which I have commissioned the said Sieur du Ruisseau to present to her in my name; and, in case the court should be far from his road, and he cannot do so, I request you to undertake the office, urgently requiring from her a declaration of her intentions regarding my said restriction, which I think she would not continue without occasion; and, in case she should be persuaded of any, let me be apprized of it, that I may explain the matter to her. Such harsh treatment has contributed greatly to impair my health, as the said du Ruisseau can more particularly inform you: referring to him on this point, and for other news from this place, I shall add nothing further but my commendations to your good grace, praying God to have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy keeping. Written at Chefeild, this viii day of October, 1582.[d]

Monsieur de Mauvissière, you will see by my letters to the Queen of England the complaint which I make about a thing which is so great an innovation that I cannot help feeling great alarm re-

[d] This letter thus far is in the handwriting of Mary's secretary: what follows is in her own.

specting the conclusion of so new a reformation; for, since I have been in England, whatever disturbances there might be in this country, or elsewhere, or whatever might have happened, I have never before been forbidden to complain to her, and to represent what might be agreeable to her, or to allege whatever I thought proper in my defence when I was falsely accused: now I am ill, I am prohibited, not knowing wherefore, or by whom, unless it be for the pleasure of the Earl of Shereusbury, to write to you or to her, whatever necessity I may have; if this continues without reprehension, it is exposing me to death, at the pleasure of any one who shall choose to make use of her name. If these letters are delivered to you, I beg you to provide in some other way for the safety of my life, remonstrating with the said lady my good sister, feeling assured that for the sake of the king, who has an interest in this matter, she will attend to it. The bearer will inform you of my state.

Your very obliged and best friend,

MARY R.

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Madam, upon that which has come to my knowledge of the last conspiracies executed in Scotland

[e] Blackwood, whose history of the sufferings of Mary was published so early as 1587, says:—"The queen, at the reported seizure of her son by Lord Gowry, having received an intimation of her son's

against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it, from the example of myself, I must employ the very small remainder of my life and strength before my death to discharge my heart to you fully of my just and melancholy complaints; of which I desire that this letter may serve you as long as you live after me for a perpetual testimony and engraving upon your conscience, as much for my discharge to posterity as to the shame and confusion of all those who, under your approbation, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am. But as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances and sincere deportment; and as the power which you have in your hands has always been a reason for you among mankind; I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us equally and immediately under him for the government of his people:

captivity, fell so sick that she thought she should die, as the English physicians reported she would to their mistress, who wanted nothing better, having the son already in her power, or, which was the same, in the hands of the people who were devoted to her; with which the poor mother, being greatly agitated in her mind, after she had addressed her prayers to God, put her hand to the pen, thinking to obtain favour from and to soften the heart of her cousin by this address." The French original of this "celebrated letter," as Chalmers calls it, is in the British Museum, Cotton lib. Calig. c. vii. 51.

I will invoke him till the end of this my very pressing affliction that he will return to you and to me (as he will do in his last judgment) the share of our merits and demerits one towards the other. And remember, madam, that to him we shall not be able to disguise any thing by the point and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

In his name, and before him sitting between you and me, I will remind you that, by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name to Scotland while I was there, my subjects were corrupted and encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts upon my person, and, in a word, to speak, do, enterprize, and execute that which has come to the said country during my troubles; of which I will not, at present, specify other proof than that which I have gained of it by the confession of one who was afterwards among those that were most advanced for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom, if I had since done justice, he had not afterwards, by his ancient intelligences, renewed the same practices against my son, and had not procured for all my traitorous and rebellious subjects who took refuge with you that aid and support which they have had, even since my detention on this side; without which

support I think the said traitors could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards have stood out so long as they have done.

During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throckmorton] counselled me on your behalf to sign that demission which he advertised me would be presented to me, assuring me that it would not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in Christendom where it was held for valid or maintained except on this side [where it was maintained], even to having assisted with open force the authors of it. In your conscience, madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty and power in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been by my subjects transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.

And, since I was willing to assure it lawfully to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or three traitors; who, having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name and the title of it, if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I was escaped from Lochleven, ready to give battle to my rebels, I remitted to you, by a

gentleman express, a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received as a token from you, and with assurance to be succoured against my rebels, and even that, on my retiring towards you, you would come to the very frontiers in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me by divers messengers.

This promise coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth (though I had found myself often deceived by your ministers), made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it, that, when my army was routed, I had come directly to throw myself into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But, while I was planning to set out, there was I arrested on my way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I remain to this day, after a thousand deaths, which I have already suffered from it.

I know that you will allege to me what passed between the late Duke Norfolk [of Norfolk] and me. I maintain that there was nothing in this to your prejudice or against the public good of this realm, and that the treaty was sanctioned with the advice and signatures of the first persons who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you. How could such personages have undertaken the enterprize of making you con-

sent to a point which should deprive you of life, of honour, and your crown, as you have shown yourself persuaded it would have done to all the ambassadors and others, who speak to you concerning me.

In the mean time, my rebels perceiving that their headlong course was carrying them much farther than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies that had been propagated of me at the conference to which I submitted, in full assembly, of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party in that country, in order to clear myself publicly of them; there were the principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces in the castle of Edinburgh, and one of the first among them poisoned,[f] and the other most cruelly hanged;[g] after I had twice made them lay down their arms at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows whether my enemies aimed at.

I have been for a long time trying whether patience could soften the rigour and ill-treatment which they have begun for these ten years peculiarly to make me suffer. And, accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me for my captivity in this house, as well in regard to the number and quality of the attendants which I re-

[f] Secretary Maitland. [g] The Laird of Grange.

tain, dismissing the others, as for my diet and ordinary exercise for my health, I am living at present as quietly and peaceably as one much inferior to myself, and more obliged than with such treatment I was to you, had been able to do; even to the abstaining, in order to take from you all shadow of suspicion and diffidence, from requiring to have some intelligence with my son and my country, which is what by no right or reason could be denied me, and particularly with my child; whom, instead of this, they endeavoured by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division.

I was permitted, you will say, to send one to visit him there about three years ago. His captivity, then at Sterling, under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it, as his liberty was afterwards of the refusal to make a like visit. All this year past I have several times entered into divers overtures for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. About ten years ago commissioners were sent to me at Chatsworth for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself by my ambassadors and those of France. I even myself made last winter all the advantageous overtures concerning it to Beal that it was possible to make. What returns have I had from them? My

good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has been neglected and calumniated, the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy treatment from day to day, in spite of any thing which I am obliged to do to deserve the contrary, and my very long, useless, and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, now think they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as some slave, whose life and whose death depend only upon their tyranny.

I cannot, madam, endure it any longer; and I must in dying discover the authors of my death, or living attempt, under your protection, to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all differences between us, banish from your mind, if you please, all that has been reported to you concerning my actions; review the depositions of the foreigners taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits last executed be submitted to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to accuse me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence. if any

evil be found in me, let me suffer for it; it shall be patiently, when I know the occasion of it: if any good, allow me not to be worse treated for it, with your very high-commission before God and man.

The vilest criminals that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification; and their accusers and their accusations are always declared to them. Why, then, shall not the same order have place towards me, a sovereign queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think that this last circumstance has hitherto been on the side of my enemies the principal cause of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretensions slide between the two, and keep us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you, upon mine honour, that I look this day for no kingdom but that of my God, whom I see preparing me for the better conclusion of all my afflictions and adversities.

This will be to you [a monition] to discharge your conscience towards my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and, in the mean time, not to let prevail to his prejudice the continual practices and secret conspiracies which our enemies in this kingdom are making daily for the advancement of their said pretensions; labouring, on the other side, with our traitorous subjects in Scotland,

by all the means which they can to hasten his ruin; of which I desire no better verification than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practised there, as I believe, without your knowledge, but with good and sufficient solicitation of the earl my good neighbour at York.[h]

And on this point, madam, by what right can it be maintained that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited not only from assisting him in the so urgent necessity in which he is, but also from having any intelligence of his state? Who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if, when sending to him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Cheresbury [Shrewsbury] gave me lately to understand that you did, you had been pleased to take my advice in the matter, you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider what you leave me to think, when, forgetting so suddenly the offence which you pretended to have taken against my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him, you have dispatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from

[h] The Earl of Huntingdon, then lord president, at York.

all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

And if the intention of those who have procured on your part this so prompt visit to my son had been for his preservation and the repose of the country, they needed not to have been so careful to conceal it from me, as a matter in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good-will which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly on the point, I pray you not to employ there any more such means or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary, Lord Hunsdon] too sensible of the rank from which he is sprung, to engage his honour in a villanous act, yet he has had for an assistant a sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented, then, if you will only not permit my son to receive any injury from this country (which is all that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders, to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton), nor any of your subjects to intermeddle any more, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of Scotland, unless with my knowledge, to whom all cognizance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the

most christian king my good brother, whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the whole of this cause, notwithstanding the little influence that he can have with the traitors who detain my son at present.

In the mean time, I declare with all frankness to you, that I hold this last conspiracy and innovation as pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that, while he shall be in the state in which I understand he is, I shall consider no message, writing, or other act that comes from him, or is passed in his name, as proceeding from his free and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who are making him serve as a mask for them, at the risk of his life.

But, madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee will in some sort displease you, though it is but the truth itself, you will think it still more strange, I am sure, that I importune you again with a request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant. This is, that, not having been able hitherto by accommodating myself patiently for so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, and, carrying myself sincerely in all things, yea, even in such as could concern you ever so little, in order to give some assurance of my entire affection for you, all my

hope being taken away of being better treated for the very short period of life that remains to me, I supplicate you, for the sake of the painful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm, into some place of repose, to seek some comfort for my poor body, worn out as it is with continual sorrows, that, with liberty of conscience, I may prepare my soul for God, who is daily calling for it.

Believe, madam, and the physicians whom you sent this last summer are able sufficiently to judge the same, that I am not for a long continuance, so as to give you any foundation of jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, require of me whatever just and reasonable assurances and conditions you think fit. The greatest power rests always on your side to make me keep them; though on no account whatsoever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I showed you upon this very point about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote to you; and you will never be able to bind my heart to you so much as by kindness, though you keep my poor body languishing for ever between four walls; those of a

rank and nature not suffering themselves to be gained or forced by any rigour.

"Your imprisonment, without any right or just ground, has already destroyed my body, of which you will shortly see the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time to glut their cruelty on me: nothing is left of me but the soul, which all your power cannot make captive. Give it, then, room to aspire a little more freely after its salvation, which is all that it now seeks, rather than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me that it cannot be any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage to you for my enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me in your presence. Whereas, if, in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me strongly to you, and bind all those who belong to me, particularly my poor child, whom you will, perhaps, make sure to yourself by it.

I will not cease to importune you with this request till it is granted. And on this account I beg you to let me know your intention; having, in order to comply with you, delayed for two years till this time to renew my application for it. In the mean time, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment in this country, that I may not suffer any longer, and commit me not to the

discretion of any other whatever, but only your own self, from whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future to derive all the good and the evil which I shall experience in your dominions. Do me this favour, to let me, or the ambassador of France for me, have your intention in writing. For, to confine me to what the Earl of Scherusbery [Shrewsbury] or others shall say or write about it on your behalf, I have too much experience to be able to put any assurance in it; the least point which they shall capriciously fancy being sufficient to make a total change from one day to another.

Besides this, the last time I wrote to those of your council, you gave me to understand that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone; therefore, to extend their authority and credit only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, contrary to your intention, I have been treated with much indignity. This gives me every reason to suspect that some of my enemies in your said council may have procured it with a design to keep others of the said council from being made privy to my just complaints, lest the others should perhaps see their companions adhere to their wicked attempts upon my life, which, if they should have any knowledge of them, they would oppose, for the

sake of your honour and of their duty towards you.

Two things I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to leaving this world, I may have with me for my consolation some honest churchman, to remind me daily of the course which I have to finish, and to teach me how to complete it comformably with my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die.

This is a last duty which cannot be denied to the meanest and most abject person that lives: it is a liberty which you grant to all the foreign ambassadors, and which all Catholic kings give to your ambassadors — the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not heretofore forced my own subjects to any thing contrary to their religion, though I had all power and authority over them. And that I should be deprived in this extremity of such freedom, you cannot in justice require. What advantage will accrue to you, if you deny it me? I hope that God will forgive me, if, oppressed by you in this manner, I render him no other duty than what I shall be allowed to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other princes of Christendom, to act towards their subjects with the same rigour that you will show to me, a sovereign queen, and your nearest relation, which I am, and shall be, as long as I live, spite of my enemies.

I would not now trouble you concerning the increase of my household; about which, for the short time I have to live, I need not care much. I require then from you only two bed-chamber women to attend me during my illness; attesting to you, before God, that they are very necessary to me, now that I am a forlorn creature among these simple people. Grant these to me for God's sake; and show, in this instance, that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little importance, and involving a mere office of humanity.

I will now come to that with which the Earl of Scherusbery has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me, which is this: that, contrary to my promise made to Beal, and without your knowledge, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland, when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I believe, the very words of the said earl.

I will tell you upon this, madam, that Beal never had an absolute and unconditional promise from me, but, indeed, conditional overtures, by which I cannot be bound in the state in which the business is, unless the stipulations which I annexed

to it are previously executed; and so far is he from having satisfied me about this, that, on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, nor heard mention of it since, on his part. And on this point, I well remember, that the Earl of Scherusbery, about Easter last, wishing to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beal, I replied to him very fully, that it was only in case the said conditions should be granted, and consequently fulfilled towards me. Both are living to testify this, if they will tell the truth about it. Then, seeing that no answer was made to me, but, on the contrary, that by delays and neglects my enemies continued more licentiously than ever their practices carried on ever since the sojourn of the said Beal with me, in order to thwart my just pretensions in Scotland, so that the effects have been well witnessed there, by these means a door was left open for the ruin of myself and my son; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself, by express letters, as well to you as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beal.

I made you fully privy to what monsieur the king, and madame the queen, had written to me, with their own hands, on this business, and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, and on which it was in truth my intention to proceed if you had given it me in time, and you had

permitted me to send to my son, assisting me in the overtures which I had proposed to you, in order to establish between the two realms a good amity and perfect intelligence for the future. But to bind myself nakedly to follow your advice before I knew what it would be, and, for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even in my own country, I was never yet so simple as to think of it.

Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game which my enemies in this country have played me in Scotland, to reduce things to the point at which they stand, which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity. God judge between them and me, and avert from this island the just punishment of their demerits!

Take no heed of the intelligence which my traitorous subjects in Scotland may have given you. You will find, and I will maintain it before all the princes of Christendom, that nothing whatever has passed there on my side to your prejudice, or against the welfare and tranquillity of this realm, which I affect not less than any councillor or subject that you have, being more interested in it than any of them.

There was a negociation for gratifying my son with the title and name of king, and for ensuring as well the said title to him as impunity to the rebels for their past offences, and for replacing

very thing in repose and tranquillity for the
ature, without innovation of any kind whatever.
Was this taking away the crown from my son?
y enemies, I believe, had no wish whatever that
e crown should be secured to him, and are there-
ore glad that he should keep it by the unlawful
iolence of traitors, enemies from times of old to
ll our family. Was this then seeking for justic
pon the past offences of the said traitors, which
ay clemency has always surpassed?

But an evil conscience can never be assured, car-
ying its fear continually in its very great trouble
ithin itself. Was it wishing to disturb the repose
f the country to grant a mild pardon of every
hing past, and to effect a general reconciliation
etween all our subjects? This is the point which
ur enemies in this country are afraid of, much as
hey pretend to desire it. What prejudice would
e done to you by this? Mark then, and verify, if
you please, by what other point. I will answer it,
upon my honour.

Ah! will you, madam, suffer yourself to be so
lind to the artifices of my enemies, as to establish
heir unjust pretensions to this crown, after you are
one; nay, perhaps, against yourself? Will you suffer
hem in your lifetime, and look on, while they are
uining and so cruelly destroying those so nearly
onnected with you both in heart and in blood?

What advantage and honour can you hope for in allowing them to keep us, my son and me, so long separated, and him and me from you?

Redeem the old pledges of your good nature; bind your relations to yourself; let me have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing all matters happily settled between us; that my soul, when released from this body, may not be constrained to make its lamentations to God for the wrongs which you have suffered to be done it here below; but rather that, being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity, to go to him, whom I pray to inspire you favourably upon my very just and more than reasonable complaints and grievances. At Sheffield, this 8th of November, one thousand five hundred, eighty-two.

Your very disconsolate nearest kinswoman,
and affectionate cousin,

MARY R.

END OF VOL. I.

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